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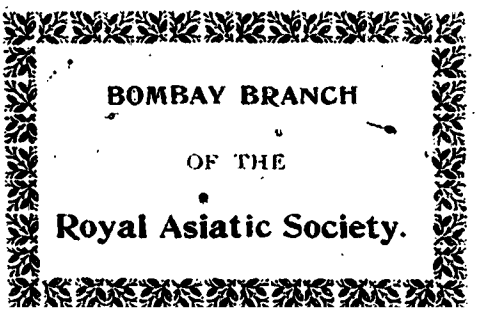

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST,

PARTICULARLY IN ITS LUTHERAN BRANCH, FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, A. D. 1530, TO THE DEATH OF LUTHER, A. D. 1546;

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INTENDED AS A CONTINUATION OF THE CHURCH HISTORY, BROUGHT DOWN TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THAT PERIOD, BY THE REV. JOSEPH MILNER, M. A. VICAR OF HOLY TRINITY, HULL; AND THE VERY REV. ISAAC MILNER, D.D. F.R.S. DEAN OF CARLISLE.

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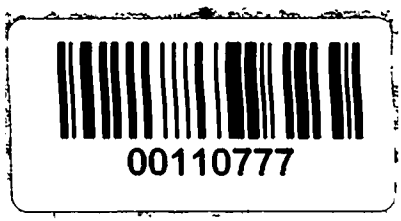

PREFACE.

THE Church History, composed by the two distinguished brothers, JOSEPH and ISAAC MILNER, appears to be daily advancing in general estimation; while by those, who cordially concur with its authors in the principles which pervade it, it is regarded as one of the most important theological works of the age. And this estimate is formed of it, not so much by speculative persons, merely from reflection on the nature of its contents, as by practical men, from the actual observation of its effects, in bringing to a serious sense of religion those who were heretofore lost in the vain pursuits of the world, and in instructing, establishing, and edifying sincere Christians.

To all who thus regard the work, it has been a subject of deep regret that it should have stopped short in the midst of a most interesting period, without any additional part having been published during the last seventeen years.[1] That, after the death of the latter of its two authors, it should not have readily found a continuator, cannot be matter of surprise. Not only might the great learning, the vigour of intellect and of genius, and, above all, the glow of high-principled piety, which characterize the volumes hitherto given to

[1] The last volume was published in the year 1809. Dr. Milner died in 1820.

the public, well deter a modest mind from attempting to add to their number; but the very magnitude of the undertaking, to furnish any thing like an adequate history of the church of Christ from the glorious period of the reformation, is of itself sufficiently appalling. The slender stream which the elder Milner often traced with difficulty through the grass and weeds with which it was overgrown, here spreads into a mighty river of many branches. The present writer can most sincerely declare, that he long shrunk back from attempting even that comparatively small portion of such a work, which he now presents to the world. It was not a service that he presumed to select for himself: it was not till it had been proposed to him, and repeatedly pressed upon him, by persons whose judgment and whose wishes were entitled to his highest respect, that he at length consented, between five and six years ago, to enter upon a course of reading, and to make some collections, tending to such a result.[1]

It may be proper very briefly to state what has since occurred, and deferred the prosecution of the undertaking to any practical issue till the present time.

When I first applied myself to the subject, it was confidently said, that the late Dean of Carlisle had left no papers behind him which could be employed as a continuation of the History. The contrary was afterwards declared to be the fact; and expectations were held out, that what

[1] I may now perhaps venture to fill up a blank which has hitherto stood in the copy of my revered father's last letter to me, published in his Life. He there says, under the date of Feb. 23, 1821, "I hope that, notwithstanding all interruptions and difficulties, and your own fears and feelings, it is appointed for you to &c. &c." The words to be supplied are—to "continue Milner's Church History." Scott's Life, p. 494. (486.)

he had prepared would be revised and published without any unnecessary delay. This intimation, concurring with the circumstance of other services devolving upon me,[1] caused me to lay aside the work for four years. But my other occupations having then terminated, and no addition to the Church History having appeared or been announced, the solicitations of friends were kindly renewed, and my labours in consequence resumed.

The fruit of them, as far as they have yet proceeded, is now respectfully submitted to the public. I am conscious that my production will call for much indulgence, and that it must in very many respects fall short of what the noble theme might well have demanded: yet I cannot but entertain a confidence, that what I have been able to bring forward will be found interesting to most persons who feel interested in religion itself, and in its progress among mankind.[2]

In this volume I have endeavoured to complete the history of Luther, and of the principal events pertaining to that branch of the church which was connected with him, to the period of his death. Dr. Milner had detailed the history of the first thirteen years of the Reformer's public life: that

[1] The compilation of my father's Life and Letters, and the publication of his Miscellaneous Works, the former in two volumes, and the latter in ten volumes, octavo.

[2] While I could not but acquiesce in the sentiment, that no obligation could possibly exist to wait longer in the hope of seeing a continuation of the History from materials collected by the late Dean of Carlisle, it is a satisfaction to me to think, that the publication of my volume need not obstruct, perhaps it may accelerate, the communication of his papers. The religious public will still welcome any thing, sufficiently matured, from his pen, upon a subject which so deeply interested his mighty mind; and, for myself, I shall be most happy to have my statements confirmed where they are right, and where they are erroneous corrected by his hand.

of sixteen more remained to be related. It seemed necessary thus to restrict the plan of the present volume chiefly to the Lutheran church, both because of the magnitude of the transactions in which that division of the Christian world was involved, and also in order to maintain a conformity between the commencement of my work and the latter part of that which it aspires to continue—where a like restriction is, in point of fact, observed.—The same general principles, it is hoped, will be found to prevail here, as in the work of the Milners. What the junior of them said of his venerated brother, I trust I may apply to myself—that, "in composing the work, he certainly believed himself to be employed in the service of his Heavenly Master." I have laboured to cherish this feeling respecting it: and I hope I now send it forth with this as my first prayer concerning it—that it may be accepted as a humble offering to God, and be blessed to the increase and the edification of his church. I may adopt the words of the author to whom all students of the history of Luther are so deeply indebted, the excellent Seckendorf, and say of my publication, as he did of his, "Prodit itaque, non tam meo quam amicorum arbitrio—utinam ad gloriam Dei et emolumentum ecclesiæ!"[1] At least, with respect to my first engaging in the work, it was not my own inclination but the importunity of my friends that prevailed. I will not deny that I have since become cordially attached to my employment, and am anxious to proceed in it.

[1] "My work is at length published—not so much in pursuance of my own choice, as in compliance with the wishes of my friends: may it prove to the glory of God, and the good of his church!"—Seck. in Præloquio.—I could have wished to suggest, from the same source, a motto for Dr. Milner's part of the Church History: "Nunc Lutherum *ex ipso Luthero* eruo, formo, depingo, et—conspiciendum admirandumque sisto."

There is another point in which a pretty close agreement will be found between my work and that of my illustrious predecessors—if I may be allowed to use a term, which perhaps rather too much assumes that I am succeeding to their labours. The point I mean is that of the view taken of the character and proceedings of the great German Reformer.—The Milners, I am aware, have been thought to shew an undue partiality for MARTIN LUTHER. But I believe that there is little ground for this sentiment, beyond the simple fact of his appearing to so much more advantage in their pages, than in many works current among us, which treat his history in a very superficial or a very prejudiced manner, and are written by persons utterly unqualified to appreciate the spirit and the principles by which he was actuated. I cannot but suspect, also, that those, who make this objection against the history of the Milners, have not fairly considered the unreserved acknowledgment and censure of Luther's real failings, to be found in very many parts of the work.[1] —My conviction is, that it exhibits an unspeakably more just and adequate view of Luther and his reformation, than had before appeared in our language.

Regret has also been expressed by some, that "the laws of history had not been more strictly observed" in the work; while others have complained, that the plan of giving only the interior history of the church had been so very closely adhered to, as frequently to leave the reader at a loss as to contemporaneous events, and to his place in the general history of the world.

As far as the circumstance, that the history fre-

[1] See, e. g. Milner v. pp. 28, 226, 237, 406, 474, 476, 485, 501, 519. (iv. 598, 810, 822, 1001, 1072, 1074, 1083, 1100, 1120.)

quently deviates into biography, and accounts of writings which have proved eminently useful to the church, may be here made a ground of complaint, I apprehend this to be inseparable from its peculiar design. It was to be the history of religion itself; of the progress of divine truth in the world; and of its effects on the minds and conduct of men. Of this individuals must be the subjects: and, in such authentic narratives of them as have come down to us, it must especially be sought. Wherever therefore an eminent example of this kind occurred, especially in ages or places where such instances were thinly scattered, there was a case to be selected, and drawn out in detail, whether in the history of the man himself, or of works by which he had exerted a powerful, and perhaps a permanent influence upon society. —To a certain degree, the same character will be found to attach to the present volume. It contains several notices which might be termed biographical; and throughout it is, in a very considerable measure, the story of Luther and his proceedings. Nor have general notices of his works, with select extracts from many of them, been thought superfluous, either in themselves, or to render the narrative uniform with his earlier history given by Dr. Milner: though these naturally become more cursory, than when the account of his successive works and their effects was little else than that of the reformation itself.

The other subject of complaint, I conceive, was found chiefly in the more ancient periods of the work. Wholly to dissever the history of the true church of Christ, in the strictest sense of the term, from that of the world around it, at the period of the reformation, would be found impossible. It was so even in the earlier stages of the progress of reform, and Dr. Milner had occasion

to give notice that such would be still more the case as the work advanced. Indeed I have found it at times become so to a degree which proved disheartening. In reading through very considerable periods, even in the best writers, I have felt tempted to exclaim, What is there to be gathered from all this beyond the intrigue and chicane of mere worldly politics? A closer inspection, however, in every instance, I trust, succeeded in bringing to light more appropriate and more interesting matter.—I have aimed, therefore, as the most satisfactory plan that I could adopt, while I gave a general and pretty rapid view of events, connected with the history of the church, which were passing upon the stage of the world, to draw forth, and present in detail, such accounts as were more suited to instruct and edify the Christian reader.

And here perhaps it will be necessary for me to apologize for the extent to which, in my latter chapters, I have availed myself of the assistance of our own Historian of the Emperor Charles V. The fact is this: Dr. Robertson and myself had, to a certain extent, to travel over the same ground. We had both to relate what may be called the external history of the church at a given period. To each of us, however, this was but a secondary object; subordinate or subservient, with him, to relating the public political transactions of the times, and, with me, to giving the history of true religion. The question then presented itself, Should I take advantage of his labours, which had produced a result, in general, equally accurate and elegant; or should I, to avoid the charge of borrowing from a modern and popular work, determine here also to compose a fresh, however inferior a narrative? I have not hesitated to adopt the former alternative; and have in consequence,

in two or three instances, quoted freely, and acknowledged my obligation.—At the same time, the remarks which I have appended, where I thought them called for, and the store of matter appropriate to my own work, and in great part new to the English reader, which I have been enabled to supply, will, I trust, sufficiently protect me from the charge of being, even here, a mere servile copyist.

With respect to the further continuation of the history, I can, of course, make no absolute promise: it is, however, my hope and my intention to go forward—and that without the loss of time. As far as I have yet been able to form any plan, my purpose is to bring down the account of that branch of the church which here especially engages our attention, through the events of the Smalkaldic war, and the changes which followed, to the peace of religion in the year 1555, which gave to the Lutheran church a legal and permanent establishment in Germany. I would then propose to trace, somewhat in the same way, the Swiss reformation, and the history of the "reformed" churches, to which it gave birth; and after that, should life and health be continued, to pass over into our own country, and to give an account of the origin and progress of the reformation, and of the protestant institutions of Great Britain. But this is all—to use an expression often adopted by Melancthon,—ἐν γουνάσι Θεοῦ—at the disposal of Providence; and the fate of the illustrious men, whose interrupted work I take up, and aspire to continue—however much it may be

Non passibus æquis—

admonishes me "not to boast myself of to-morrow," but to say, "If the Lord will, I shall live, and do this and that."

Before I conclude, I will venture to add a brief notice of a still more personal nature. Should I be at all accepted as the continuator of the church history, I shall feel it to form a somewhat remarkable feature in my own humble story. It was at a very early age that I first conceived, from the Memoir of William Howard of North Ferriby,[1] a veneration for the name of JOSEPH MILNER, and a wish to become connected with Hull. When about to enter into holy orders, I had accepted a title in a remote part of the country—in Somersetshire: but it was proposed to me, and with some reluctance acceded to on my part, to receive instead of it a nomination to the curacy of St. John's, in Hull. This has fixed my lot in life. A year and a half afterwards, I was appointed to the same vicarage of North Ferriby, the same lectureship in the principal church at Hull, and the same mastership of the grammar school, which Mr. Milner had held so long.[2] The situations are independent of each other; and the last of the three I resigned some years ago: the others I still retain. If I may now succeed Mr. Milner in his favourite work, it will carry the resemblance as far as, in external things, I wish it to go; and I will apply to the case the words of the poet:—

> Te sequor, O Graiæ gentis decus, inque tuis nunc
> Fixa pedum pono pressis vestigia signis,
> Non ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem,
> Quod te imitari aveo.

I shall now close this preface with some notices of the principal authors whom I follow in the present volume.

[1] See the last volume of Mr. Milner's works.

[2] This was three years and a half after the death of Mr. Milner. His immediate successor in the offices here mentioned was the Rev. Josiah Rodwell, M.A.

1. Among these Seckendorf, though not personally the earliest, may well deserve to be first mentioned. He was a native of Franconia, (born A. D. 1626,) educated at Strasburg, and early in life distinguished for his attainments. He passed most of his days in public employments, filling, in addition to other offices, that of chancellor to two of the dukes of Saxony. When he chose to resign that station, he was appointed by the elector of Brandenburg his ecclesiastical counsellor, and chancellor of the university of Halle. He has been pronounced, "not only a great statesman, but one of the brightest ornaments of the republic of letters." He was also a man of the strictest uprightness and piety; and, having applied himself much to the study of divinity and ecclesiastical history, when he retired from public life in the year 1682, he was solicited by the duke of Saxony to write the history of the reformation, at least as far as related to that country. On his assenting to this proposal, the archives and the libraries of most of the German princes were opened to him, and learned men were ready to tender him their assistance. His great work is entitled, "Commentarius Historicus et Apologeticus de Lutheranismo" &c. The particular form which it assumed was owing to the popular but fallacious "History of Lutheranism," then recently published in the French language by Maimbourg the Jesuit; which Seckendorf translates into Latin, and then examines from section to section, detecting its errors and misrepresentations, and amply supplying its deficiences from the rich stores of original papers which were open to him. —This excellent work comprises the period of Luther's public life, from the year 1517 to 1546. The author would have carried it further, had not age and infirmities forbidden the attempt.

It is attended especially with the four following advantages: 1. It presents the papal as well as the protestant accounts, in the very words of a leading advocate of the party: 2. It details to us the sentiments and proceedings of the protestant princes and divines from the original documents, in great part previously inaccessible to the public: 3. It furnishes us with a review of all Luther's successive writings, and with copious extracts from the most material of them: 4. It gives us Seckendorf's own excellent judgment upon every transaction.—It consists of three books, all separately paged: and to the *pages* of the several *books*, my references are accordingly made. The first book was published by itself in 1688; and afterwards the whole together, in folio, at Leipsic in 1692, and again in 1694. The two last, though actually distinct editions, appear to correspond page for page throughout.—The learned author died the very year that the first complete edition of his work appeared.—Bayle (himself an acute and learned sceptic,) says of it: "Whoever is desirous of being thoroughly acquainted with the history of this great man, (Luther,) needs only to read the extensive work of Seckendorf. Of its kind, it is one of the best books that have ever appeared."

2. Next to Seckendorf, Sleidan is to be ranked. He was a contemporary historian, concerned in many of the transactions which he records. He was born at Sleidan, near Cologne, in 1506, and died at Strasburg, 1556. He was employed by the protestants on several important missions, one of which was into England in the year 1545. The work of his with which we are concerned is entitled, "De statu Religionis et Reipublicæ, Carolo V. Cæsare, Commentarii," extending from the year 1517 to 1556. It in fact forms a history of the author's own times.—Anxious at-

tempts have been made on the part of the Roman Catholics to impeach the veracity of Sleidan; in order to which one of them tells us that the emperor Charles V. always called for his book under the appellation of "His Liar;" and it cannot indeed be supposed that the view given by Sleidan of that prince's measures and designs could be agreeable to him. Sleidan, however, maintains his character as "one of the most judicious and dispassionate of historians." Indeed his work in great measure consists of abstracts of original documents, which he strings together into a continued narrative.[1] Seckendorf says, "Sleidan has left all the writers of his own age, who have treated of these subjects, far behind him:" and Thuanus (himself a Roman Catholic, but one of whom I should gladly have given some account in this preface, had he only furnished me with more occasion for doing it at the present period of my progress,) remarks that, "being by his own public employments well informed of the progress of affairs, Sleidan added, to what he had seen, what he learned from men worthy of credit, and thus wrote his commentaries—bringing down his history to the year of his death with an exact fidelity and diligence."[2]

I have principally referred to the pages of the English translation of Sleidan, with a continuation, by Edmund Bohun, Esq. London, 1689, folio; because that volume happened to be at hand, and I found it to be the same which Dr. Robertson had used and commended. Where, however, I have made quotations, I have for the most part compared them with the best Latin edition, Francfort, 1785, 3 vols. 8vo.; and, in this

[1] "Opus hoc meum confectum est totum ex actis magnâ diligentiâ collectis," &c.—Sleid. in Præf.

[2] Thuan. xvii.

and other instances, have not felt myself bound to adhere to the very words of the translator, as I should have done to those of an original author.

3. Abraham Scultetus is a valuable annalist belonging to the age immediately succeeding that of which he writes. He was a learned and pious divine of the "reformed" church, and professor of divinity at Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate of the Rhine. He visited England with the elector Palatine (who married the daughter of our James I,) in 1612; was subsequently a deputy to the Synod of Dort; and accompanied the elector, his master, in his unfortunate expedition to take possession of the crown of Bohemia. He wrote "Annales Evangelii seculo xvi renovati:" but only two Decades of them, extending from the year 1516 to 1536, remain; what he had subsequently written having perished in the sack of Prague, which followed the famous battle of that place in the year 1620. The work was first published at Heidelberg, 1618, in 8vo.: but I refer to its pages as it stands reprinted in Von der Hardt's "Historia Literaria Reformationis," folio, Francfort, 1717.—After the overthrow of the elector Palatine, Scultetus accepted the place of a preacher at Embden, and died there in 1625, at the age of seventy years.

4. The name of Fra Paolo Sarpi, or Father Paul, the historian of the council of Trent, is known to every one. He was born at Venice in the year 1552, made provincial of the order of Servites, to which he belonged, in 1579, and died in 1623. He has been called "the greatest genius of the age" in which he lived. Considering him as to the last a member of the Roman Catholic church, the reader will be surprised at the extraordinary freeness of his sentiments. So little satisfaction

did his History of the Council afford to the court of Rome, that Pallavicini was employed to write another, which might counteract it, and was rewarded with the cardinalate for his trouble. Yet even Du Pin (himself a Roman Catholic,) declares that the two histories "agree well concerning the principal facts, and differ little but in things of no moment." F. Paul, he says, is chiefly to be censured for the "malicious turn" which he gives to the "views and reasonings" of the fathers of the council, and the "satirical strokes" which he has scattered throughout his work.—Bossuet, indeed, goes so far as to call him "a protestant and a Calvinist under a friar's frock:" but Dr. Campbell observes on this, "That he was no Calvinist is evident from several parts of his writings. I think it also fairly deducible from these, that there was no protestant sect then in existence, with whose doctrine his views would have entirely coincided.....The freedoms, indeed, which he used would have brought him early to feel the weight of the church's resentment, had he not been protected by the state of Venice, of which he was a most useful citizen."[1] This protection, however, did not screen him from the repeated attempts of hired assassins, from one of which he suffered so severely that his life was despaired of.

F. Paul having written in Italian, I avail myself of Sir Nathaniel Brent's translation, London, 1676, folio,—the same which Dr. Robertson and Dr. Milner appear also to have used.

5. Another of my authors is Melchior Adam, a "reformed" divine, who died in the year 1622. He compiled the lives of eminent divines, lawyers, statesmen, physicians, and philosophers, chiefly

[1] Campbell on Eccl. Hist. Lect. 3.

those of Germany. The best edition is that of Francfort, 1706, two vols. folio; to which my references are made.

6. Du Pin, the ecclesiastical historian, was born at Paris in 1657, and died in 1719. "Of all the papal advocates, he is, in general, by far the most candid, and the most to be relied upon."[1] I refer to the volumes and pages of the folio edition, London, 1710, &c.

7. Luther's Letters have been published in four separate volumes. His friend Aurifaber collected two volumes in quarto, Jena 1556 and Eisleben 1565. Buddeus added a third in quarto, Halle 1703 and 1717; and Strobelius a fourth, in octavo, Nuremberg 1814.[2] The two first are so rare that Dr. Milner informed me he had been able to procure them only from the Archbishop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth. I have been more successful, but the letters contained in them come down no lower than the year 1529.—For Melancthon's Epistles, I refer to the folio edition, London 1642, which contains also those of Erasmus.—A scarce octavo volume, in two parts, compiled by Pezelius, and printed at Neustadt, 1600, entitled "Melancthonis Consilia Theologica, itemque Responsiones ad Quæstiones," &c. has been interesting and useful to me. It exhibits the judgment of Melancthon, and occasionally that also of Luther and others, on most of the principal questions and transactions connected with the reformation, from the year 1521 to 1560. —In the course of my progress, first Scultetus failed me, and now Seckendorf himself does the same: but Sleidan, Father Paul, Melchior Adam, and, in his "Epistles and Deliberations," Melanc-

[1] Dr. Milner.

[2] Perhaps there is a fifth volume by Sagittarius, Altenb. 1663; and even a sixth by Schülz, 17—.

thon himself will still be ready to attend and guide me,—besides fresh writers who will now take up the subject.

8. With respect to other authors, I will only add that, in referring to Milner's History, I have usually (for the reader's convenience,) pointed out the pages of the earlier as well as of the later editions—including the *former* within parentheses; and that the editions of Mosheim and Robertson made use of are those of London 1768 and 1787, respectively.[1]

August, 1826.

[1] I have discovered one mistake which I must request the reader to correct. The address of the elector of Brandenburg (*p.* 9. *l.* 28.) was made to the *pope's legate*, not to the *emperor*.

My attention has just been attracted to the following sentence of Dr. Robertson. "Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, as far as they had power and opportunity, inflicted the same punishments upon such as called in question any article in their creeds, which were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome." Charles V. iv. 186. I am induced to shew how untrue this modish statement (to a considerable degree fallacious as to all the parties implicated in it,) is with respect to Luther, by placing before the reader a specimen of the passages referred to below, p. 493. Luther himself writes: "These, illustrious prince, are the chief doctrines which I would wish you most strenuously to patronise in public, as indeed you have already begun to do. But let there be no compulsion: let there be no recourse to the sword: in that way nothing will prosper." Again: "It is not my wish that any persons, no not even these fanatics, should be hindered from preaching. Let them teach, but keep their hands from violence." Yet again: "I am alarmed when I reflect on the conduct of the papists, who have so often abused the statutes of capital punishment against heresy, to the effusion of innocent blood. Among the protestants, in process of time, I foresee a great probability of a similar abuse, if they should now arm the magistrate with a similar power, and there should be left on record a single instance of a person having suffered legally for the propagation of false doctrine."

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CHAPTER I.

THE DIET AND CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

A. D. 1530.

In closing the last portion of the "History of the Church of Christ" which has been given to the public, the learned and very reverend author observes, "In the next volume the reader will find a more particular description of the contents" of the Confession of Augsburg, "together with a brief detail of the proceedings of the diet, and also of the consequences of the infamous decree of that assembly in November, 1530."[1] This sentence points out to any one, who might attempt to continue the work, the subject with which he would have to commence. —"The diet of Augsburg," the same writer further remarks, "forms a sort of era in the history of the reformation." On this, and on every ground, the proceedings of that period will claim to be somewhat minutely detailed.

Close of Milner's History.

Previous History of the Reformation.

The blessed reformation had now been thirteen years in progress. Its origin, its preservation, its advancement, had all been alike beyond human expectation. It had seemed throughout to maintain a precarious existence, dependent on the will of its adversaries. And scarcely ever before had those adversaries shewn themselves deficient either in vigour or sagacity: but, in their treatment of the reform-

[1] Milner, v. 561. (1164.)

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ation in its earlier stages, a remarkable want of those qualities had been manifested. Their disunion among themselves, and the distractions arising to the emperor Charles V, from the rivalry existing between him and Francis I, king of France, and to the popes from their jealousy of both these potentates, as well as from their regard to private family interests; together with the alarms excited by the threatening advances of the Turks: these, sometimes conjointly and sometimes separately, proved the means of sheltering the reformation, till it gradually acquired that root and establishment which no human power could subvert.[1] But, in fact, it was the work of God; and the greatest and best of his works for the children of men in these latter ages; and he would not suffer "the gates of hell to prevail against it." He caused all these agents and events, and whatever others may be pointed out as having contributed to the grand result, to fulfil his purposes. The friends and promoters of the great cause were made to feel constantly their dependence upon him; but the requisite help was never withheld in the time of need.[2]

Proposed General Council.

Amidst the divisions and disorders (as they were esteemed,) to which the proceedings of Luther and his coädjutors, in exposing the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome, had given occasion, the great remedy to which

[1] Milner, v. 546. (1148.)

[2] Even Robertson, who is thought to have treated the subject with great coldness for a Christian divine, affirms, that the history of the reformation is such as to afford "no slight proof, that the same hand which planted the Christian religion protected the reformed faith, and reared it, from beginnings extremely feeble, to an amazing degree of strength and maturity." Charles V, ii. 105.

the hopes of all those who wished to combine some reformation of abuses, with the preservation of the sort of order which had previously subsisted in the Christian world, were directed, was the convocation of a general council. Much as such assemblies had hitherto disappointed the expectations entertained from them, the repetition of the experiment was the only resource which suggested itself. The reformers, whether they looked for any very satisfactory result from the deliberations of a council, or not, yet acted prudently in appealing to one: the princes and people, in general, felt the necessity of something being done, which only such an assembly seemed properly authorized to do: the court of Rome alone stood cordially opposed to the measure; and they could not with decency openly reject the numerous and repeated applications made, from the most respectable, and even from the very highest quarters, for the calling of a council, under such circumstances as might induce all to refer the points in dispute to its decision.

A. D. 1530.

Clement VII, however, who now filled the papal chair, viewed the convocation of a council with a degree of aversion and dread surpassing that usually manifested by those who had occupied his situation. The proceedings of the councils of Pisa and Constance, which had deposed the popes Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, and John XXIII, excited his fears; and the circumstances of his own birth and elevation (neither of which was free from reproach,) confirmed his terrors.[1]

Clement VII. and Charles V.

The emperor had now been spending several

[1] Mosheim, iii. 361. Robertson ii. 276. Compare Seckendorf, iii. 519 (12), where a prevalent report is mentioned of his having never been baptized!

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months with him in the same palace at Bologna; where he had received the imperial crown from his hands. He had in consequence, been fully instructed in the views of his Holiness, and at his coronation had sworn "to be, with all his powers and resources, the perpetual defender of the pontifical dignity, and of the church of Rome:"[1] though we must conclude, that he neither felt himself inclined, if he had been able, nor able, if he had been inclined, to carry matters with that high hand against the adherents of the reformation, which the pope would have wished.[2] As, however, a council was so much dreaded by Clement, that he would offer none, but upon terms which he knew would be rejected by the protestants, the effect of a diet of the empire was once more to be tried: and this was accordingly summoned to meet at Augsburg on the eighth day of April, in the year 1530.

Preceding Diets.

This celebrated diet was the *sixth*, before which the subject of the religious differences in Germany had been brought. The first was that of Worms in 1521, which proscribed Luther as an excommunicated heretic; forbad all persons to harbour him, under the penalties of high treason; and declared all his adherents obnoxious to the same punishments with himself.[3] —The second, that of Nuremberg in 1522-3: at which the pope (Adrian VI.) acknowledged the need of reformation, and the German princes presented their list of a "hundred grievances" which the empire suffered from the court of Rome.[4] The decree of this diet virtu-

[1] Sleidan, 126. Seck. ii. 151.
[2] Milner, v. 559. (1162.) Sleid. 130.
[3] Ibid. iv. 565. (552.)
[4] Ibid. v. 101—116. (675—691.)

ally abrogated the edict of Worms.—The third, again held at Nuremberg, 1523-4, when Clement VII. had succeeded to the papal chair. The members resolved to observe the edict of Worms "as far as they could."[1]—The fourth, convoked at Augsburg, 1525, and afterwards adjourned to Spire, 1526. Here a general council was demanded, and all left at liberty till it should be held.[2]—The fifth, that of Spire, in 1529, after peace had been concluded between the emperor and the pope. Here the indulgence granted at the preceding diet was rescinded: which produced the protest, whence the *protestants* derived their name, and led to a league among them for mutual defence.[3]

A.D. 1530.

The diet of Augsburg, though originally summoned for the eighth of April, had been postponed to the first of May. The emperor, however, did not arrive till the fifteenth of June; and till his arrival the diet was not opened. The elector of Saxony was the first of the German princes who reached Augsburg. He came on the second of May. It had been the subject of some deliberation, whether he and the other princes of his party should trust themselves at Augsburg; and even Pontanus, his ex-chancellor, whom we shall see acting a conspicuous part in these affairs, dissuaded it.[4] On the other hand, Maimbourg the jesuit pretends that the protestants, anticipating the hostile intentions of the emperor, entertained thoughts of intercepting him in the passes of the Alps:[5]

Diet of Augsburg.

[1] Milner, 160—168. (739—748.)
[2] Ibid. 428—433, 442—448. (1023—1028, 1038—1044.) —Dr. Milner treats this as two distinct diets: but it is not generally so considered.
[3] Ibid. 552, 556, 558. (1155, 1159, 1160.)
[4] Seck. ii. 152, 153.
[5] In Seck. ii. 150.

CHAP. I.

and the emperor, on being informed of the elector's early arrival, is said to have suspected him of dangerous designs;[1] and even Scultetus,[2] a member of the reformed church, gives some countenance to the former of these charges. Seckendorf, however, pronounces it mere surmise; and certainly it appears to be unsupported by any thing in the conduct of the parties concerned, and contrary to all the principles on which they were acting.

Leading characters.

Before entering upon the business of the diet, it may be useful further to recal to the reader's memory the principal leaders on both sides. On that of the papists there were, besides the emperor Charles V, and his brother Ferdinand archduke of Austria, and now also king of Hungary and Bohemia, (who had administered affairs for the emperor during his absence,)—the pope's legate Campeggio, Joachim elector of Brandenburg, George duke of Saxony, and William, of Bavaria. These were all vehement Roman Catholics—"evangelicæ causæ omnium infensissimi."[3] Henry duke of Brunswick was on the same side: but he was at this time comparatively moderate; though he afterwards became one of the most violent. The same was to a considerable degree the case with the cardinal archbishop and elector of Mentz, brother to Joachim of Brandenburg, and the first prince of the empire.[4] The name of the archbishop and elector of Cologne[5] also occurs;

[1] Seck. ii. 155, 156. [2] Annal. 155.
[3] Seckendorf. [4] Melanc. Epist. i. 4.
[5] "The right of choosing the emperor had long been vested in seven great princes, distinguished by the name of *electors*. They were, at that time, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, the king of Bohemia, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the marquis of Brandenburg."—Robertson.

but he seems to have taken no active part in this diet. Probably he was already well disposed towards reformation; and we shall ultimately find him a confessor and sufferer in the cause of protestantism.—To these are to be added two papal nuncios, Cheregato and Pimpinello; and the cardinal archbishop of Salzburg. The bishop of Augsburg also was one of this party, though he acted on more than one occasion a remarkable part, and a part more favourable to the protestants than any of the rest. A.D. 1530.

On the side of the protestants were John, surnamed the Constant, elector of Saxony, and his son John Frederick; Philip Landgrave of Hesse; George marquis of Brandenburg [1]; Ernest and Francis dukes of Lunenburg; Wolfgang prince of Anhalt; Albert count Mansfeld; and count Philip of Hanover: to which are to be added the deputies of several imperial cities. [2]

Each party also brought with them some of their principal divines; to whose assistance recourse might be had as circumstances should require. Faber, Eccius, Cochlæus, and de Wimpina were among those of the papal party: Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Spalatinus, Schnepfis, and Agricola, were the chief on the part of protestants. Bucer, Hedio, and Capito also attended from Strasburg: but they leaned more to Zuinglius than to Luther. The elector of Saxony took Luther with him as far as Coburg: but, fearing for his safety, [3] or unwilling to offend the emperor by bringing into his presence a man excommunicated by the

[1] Joachim was also *marquis* of Brandenburg, but George was not *elector*.

[2] Milner, v. 554. (1156.)

[3] Seck. ii. 202.

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pope, and proscribed by the edict of Worms, he left him in the castle of that city, as a place at once of security and convenience, where he might be informed of what passed, and give his counsel if required.[1]

The Emperor's entry into Augsburg. June 15.

The emperor had been met at Inspruck, in the Tyrol, by several of the electors and princes of the empire; some of whom endeavoured to infuse into his mind the most injurious prejudices and suspicions against the elector of Saxony. Accompanied by these personages, his brother Ferdinand, the legate Campeggio, the ambassadors of France, England, and Portugal, and met by all the other princes and grandees at some distance from the city, he entered Augsburg on the evening of Wednesday the fifteenth of June. Maimbourg gives, from Celestine, (who has made a voluminous collection of all things pertaining to this diet,) a pompous description of his entry; which may be dispensed with in this place.[2] Suffice it to say, that the elector of Saxony, as marshal of the empire, rode immediately before the emperor, who was supported on his right by the archbishop of Mentz, and on the left by the archbishop of Cologne. He was immediately followed by king Ferdinand and the pope's legate; to whom succeeded three cardinals on white mules, and then a long train of archbishops and bishops, and of German, Spanish, and Italian nobles, officers, and troops. The procession advanced, "amid the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, the sounding of trumpets, and the beating of drums," directly to the cathedral church; where the pomp was closed by the singing of hymns, and the legate's benediction.

[1] Seck. ii. 152.

[2] In Seck. ii. 160, 161.

In short, the whole scene was arranged to produce the most imposing effect; and the diet itself was "such a full assembly as was suitable both to the importance of the affairs which were to come under their consideration, and to the honour of an emperor, who, after a long absence, returned to them crowned with reputation and success."[1] A.D. 1530.

Seckendorf has added some interesting or amusing circumstances relative to the entry, which, though drawn from the same sources as Maimbourg's narrative, are omitted by that writer.—On the approach of the princes who came out of the city to meet him, the emperor and his brother dismounted, and received them in the most gracious manner: but the legate and cardinals sat still on their mules. The legate also, to draw the more attention to his official character and authority, seized this opportunity of pronouncing his benediction, which the emperor and the princes of that party humbly knelt down to receive; while the elector of Saxony and his associates, who did not much value a pontifical blessing, and perhaps thought it at this time ostentatiously, rather than either piously or seasonably given, continued standing.—At the entrance of the city the elector of Brandenburg welcomed the emperor, in the name of all the bishops and prelates, in a Latin speech—which none of those dignitaries had felt himself prepared to do. This amused the emperor, who praised the learning and eloquence of Joachim, while he somewhat sarcastically noticed the silence of the ecclesiastics.—In the cathedral also some contest, it appears, arose concerning the bene-

[1] Robertson, iii. 47.

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diction. The cardinal of Salzburg came forward to pronounce it: but he was indignantly repelled by the legate,[1] who chose again to perform that service himself.

Procession of the Host.

The firmness and principle of the protestant princes were soon put to the proof. The day after the emperor's entry into Augsburg was the festival of Corpus Christi, or the holy sacrament, when a grand procession of the host was to take place. Indeed it seems probable that the time was arranged with reference to this circumstance; and this, with the proceedings which follow, is ascribed to the counsels of the legate. Late in the evening, after all the rest had retired, the emperor sent for the protestant princes, and signified to them his pleasure that they should attend him in the procession of the ensuing day. This was the more marked, as all the other princes were left at liberty to follow their own inclination.[2] Having anticipated the demand made upon them, the princes promptly replied, that it was contrary to their consciences to comply. The marquis of Brandenburg was their spokesman; and he, having received a sharp answer from Ferdinand, placed his hand on his neck, and made this memorable declaration; "Rather would I instantly kneel down, and in the emperor's presence submit my neck to the executioner, than prove unfaithful to God, and receive or sanction antichristian error." The emperor merely observed, with mildness and address, "That there was no intention to take man's life."—The matter in debate was then deferred till the morning;[3] when, by the

[1] "Castigatum abegit." [2] Seck. ii. 202.

[3] So intent, however, was the emperor upon his object, that he sent again to the elector that night. The elector excused himself as requiring rest. Seck. ii. 162.

repetition of the emperor's demands and even entreaties, and of the firm refusal of the princes, the discussion was so long protracted as to delay the procession some hours beyond the appointed time. Here again the marquis of Brandenburg, with much emotion, having briefly recounted his own services, and those of his family, to the house of Austria, implored the emperor not to listen to calumnies against him; adding, "In the present cause, which pertains to God, I am compelled by an immutable divine command to resist all impositions of this kind, whatever may be the consequence: since it is written, *We ought to obey God rather than man.* For the confession, therefore, of the doctrine, which I know to be the word of Christ, and eternal truth, I decline no danger, not even that of life itself, which, I hear, is threatened by some."

A. D. 1530.

If in this instance the protestants had a specimen of the manner in which they were to be dealt with, and how determined the pope and the emperor were to require of them an unreserved surrender of their principles; the emperor and the papal representatives had, on the other hand, a sample of the spirit which animated the protestant body, and a proof how vain it would be to expect, by any thing short of either conviction or exterminating violence, to restore that uniformity in the church, which they so passionately desired.

All efforts to prevail with the protestant princes having proved fruitless, the procession was celebrated without them, but with great pomp, the particulars of which the popish historian seems again to have great pleasure in recounting. He adds, "This was the triumph of Christ at Augsburg, in the sight of the

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Lutherans!" The pious Seckendorf more justly rejoins: "It was the triumph indeed of the pope and his party, not of Christ; but so conducted that the real honour of the triumph, in the sight of God and his saints, belonged to those princes and others, few in number, and of comparatively small power, whom neither the dread majesty of Cesar, nor all the dangers that threatened them, could prevail with to do any thing contrary to their consciences."[1]

Celebration of Mass.

This "contumacy" of the protestant leaders was peculiarly offensive to the legate, and he determined, if possible, to make them go, as he thought, further than had just been required of them. The emperor was to attend mass before he opened the diet; and Campeggio instigated him[2] to require the elector of Saxony, by virtue of his office of marshal, to carry the sword before him, and stand at the mass. This, he thought, would be not merely attending, but actually assisting at popish ceremonies. The elector's divines and advisers, however, viewed the matter in a different light. They argued, that the case varied materially from that of the procession. There their master had no official duty to perform: he was required to give his personal countenance to an idolatrous ceremony. Not so here. He was now called to discharge a civil office, not to perform a religious duty—"to render service to the emperor, not worship to God."[3] They observed also, that the mass (as including the sacrament of the Lord's supper,) was a thing substantially good in itself, and evil only by abuse, and by the superstitious observances mixed up with it;

[1] Seck. ii. 161—163. [2] F. Paul, 49, 50.
[3] Seck. ii. 167.

whereas the procession of the host was altogether unscriptural and idolatrous.[1] They concluded, therefore, that he might lawfully attend the emperor; which accordingly he did, accompanied by the marquis of Brandenburg.—Both Father Paul and Maimbourg say, that the Lutheran divines alleged the case of Naaman lending his arm to his sovereign when he went into the house of Rimmon to worship; and the former seems to think the soundness of the advice given very questionable: while the latter insults over it, as an instance of the vacillation and inconsistency "to which heresy must always be subject." But, admitting the reference to have been made, it is doubtful how much was meant by Naaman's "bowing in the house of Rimmon;" while the elector is distinctly recorded to have premised an explanation of his views,[2] and to have signified his dissent from what was going on by abstaining from bowing to the host.[3]—At all events, however, as the late instance proved how firm the protestants could be where principle required it, their present conduct would shew their readiness to comply where conscience would permit; and that they would make a discrimination of cases, and not fanatically confound all distinctions. A. D. 1530.

"In that mass," says Father Paul, "Vincenzo Pimpinello, archbishop of Rosano, the pope's nuncio, made an oration in Latin before the offertory, in which he spake not a word of any spiritual or religious matter, but upbraided

[1] Seck. ii. 203.

[2] "Præmissâ prius fidei suæ de missâ confessione." Scultet.

[3] Sleid. 127. Seck. ii. 167, 203 (h). F. Paul. 50.

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Germany for having suffered so many wrongs by the Turks, without revenge; and exhorted them, by many examples of ancient captains of the Roman commonwealth, to make war against them. He said that the disadvantage of Germany was, that, whereas the Turks obeyed one prince only, in Germany many obeyed not at all: that the Turks lived in one religion, and the Germans every day invented new ones, and mocked the old, as if it were become mouldy. He taxed them, that, being desirous to change their faith, they had not found one more holy, at the least, and more wise than that of Luther. Finally, he exhorted them, that *imitating Scipio Nasica, Cato, and the people of Rome, their ancestors*, they should observe the catholic religion, forsake those novelties, and apply themselves to the war."

Preaching of the Protestant Divines.

On another subject, some degree of contention had commenced even before the emperor's arrival at Augsburg. It has been observed, that the protestant princes brought with them some of their principal divines, as well for the benefit of their counsel in the religious discussions which were expected, as for their assistance in the offices of divine worship. These ministers, both in the places they passed through, and after they arrived at Augsburg, preached frequently in the churches; and, though they abstained as much as might be from controversy, and applied themselves directly to the edification of the people, the proceeding naturally gave umbrage to their enemies. The emperor, accordingly, before he moved from Inspruck, signified his pleasure that the practice should cease. This opposition had been foreseen, and it had consequently been made the subject of previous deliberation,

whether the preaching in the churches should be continued, notwithstanding any prohibition from the emperor, till it was forcibly suppressed: and likewise whether such services should be retained privately, in the hotels of the princes, contrary to his will. On both questions the divines decided in favour of submission; though they would have the latter practice to be earnestly contended for, as a matter both of right and of usage. Melancthon thought the emperor ought to be obeyed—especially as the elector had no jurisdiction in Augsburg:[1] and Luther, on being referred to, was decidedly in favour of yielding, if they could not prevail by entreaties. "We ought," said he, "patiently to bear unjust treatment: we have done our duty, and have no more to answer for."—Indeed, on such subjects, even Maimbourg is constrained to eulogize the conduct of the two reformers. "It must be allowed," he says, "that these two men, heretics as they were, taught a good lesson to all who are under authority—to acknowledge that, if any commands are laid upon them, which they think unjust, they are not, in such a case, to make their own judgment their rule of action, nor to imagine themselves absolved from their obligation to obedience; unless the thing commanded be positively sinful."[2]—The princes, however, seem to have been somewhat more tenacious than the divines;[3] and, notwithstanding the emperor's letters, the preaching was not discontinued till some days after his own arrival; and not even then by an absolute surrender, but only by compromise—the

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[1] Melanc. Epist. i. 14. [2] In Seck. ii. 163.
[3] Melanc. Epist. i. 14.

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emperor engaging to impose silence on the divines of the popish as well as of the protestant party, and to appoint such preachers, exclusively, as all might hear without offence to their consciences. Though the sermons, therefore, which were preached, were very vapid and barren of sreiptural truth, yet Seckendorf thinks the protestants were rather gainers than losers by the arrangement, as the minds of the persons assembled from all parts of Germany were prevented from being poisoned by the invectives of such preachers as Faber and Cochlæus.[1]

Devotions of the Emperor and the Elector.

It may deserve to be recorded, at least for the purpose of shewing what the habits of the times required and produced, that the day before the diet opened (being Sunday,) the emperor received the holy sacrament, and spent two hours of the evening in retired devotion, "besides the hour which he thus employed every morning."[2] It is to be feared, that there is no breach of charity in suspecting that the emperor's prayers, at this period, at least, and for many years after, were marked by little of that sincerity which is the first element in "spiritual worship." His character and conduct, governed solely by the principles of an ambitious policy, forbid us to believe that they were. But, from the same decisive evidence of character, we may draw a different conclu-

[1] Sleid. 127. Seck. ii. 153, 155, 163—165, 181, 202.—How much and how earnestly this question, concerning the preaching, was considered among the protestant leaders, may be learned from the Epistles of Melancthon, and particularly from Pezelius's Consiliæ Theologicæ Melancthonis, i. 102—109. On the subjects treated of by the preachers, Melancthon writes, "Nihil prædicatur controversum, sed docetur utilis doctrina de Christo, et ad emendandam vitam maxime necessaria."

[2] Seck. ii. 167.

sion concerning those of the good elector of Saxony. He, we are told, after hearing the opening speech in the diet, called together his associates, the friends of the reformation, and exhorted them to an intrepid assertion of the cause of God and religion; and the next morning, having ordered all his counsellors and attendants to retire, he poured forth most fervent supplications to God for the success of the great business in hand: and then, for the confirmation of his own mind, committed to writing some things which Dolzig (his ambassador to the emperor,) and Melancthon are said to have perused with admiration.[1] How edifying is such an exhibition of the spirit with which this pious prince and his associates met the dangers of the present crisis, and entered upon the arduous service to which they were called, and with which the honour of God, and the liberties and the salvation of men were so closely connected.[2]

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[1] Seck. ii. 168, 169.

[2] It appears that, though the emperor severely inhibited the publication, on the part of the protestants, of any of the proceedings at Augsburg, he sanctioned, and protected by a penalty, the publication, on the part of their adversaries, of a very injurious representation of the transactions, drawn up by a person who was not present. This produced a full relation of all that passed, by one intimately acquainted with the whole—"perhaps," says Seckendorf, by "Pontanus himself"—which exists in MS. in the library of Saxe Weimar, and which Seckendorf thinks would be better worth publication than most things that have appeared relative to these events. He gives an abstract of it, ii. 202—206.

According to this writer it would seem, that few on the catholic side exhibited the same decorum and appearance of piety that the emperor did. Some of the principal persons, he says, and he is speaking especially of the ecclesiastics, openly, "in the sight of the whole city carried in and out with them two or three harlots, and spent their time in dice and other games, while only here and there one made prayers

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Opening of the Diet. June 20.

On the twentieth of June, the diet was opened with a long speech in the emperor's name, read by Frederick count palatine. It turned principally upon two points. The first, was the necessity of adopting vigorous measures against the Turks, who, under their sultan Solyman, had taken Belgrade, conquered Rhodes, (at that time the seat of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the bulwark of Christendom,) recently besieged Vienna, and, in short, threatened all Europe. The other point was, the 'unhappy religious differences' in Germany.[1] The speech concluded with inviting the princes and states to unfold their sentiments concerning the existing discords and abuses: but it was observed, that it did this more coldly than it had been done in the summons issued for the diet; which proposed "a friendly discussion, and charitable settlement of the points in dispute," and that an opportunity should be afforded of "explaining and rectifying what had been said or done amiss by either party."[2]

to God for the success of the important business at issue." —Can we conceive less than judicial infatuation in such conduct, under the eye of all the princes and states of Germany, and at a time when the corruptions of the Romish church threatened to prove fatal to its interests?

That this is no libellous account we may conclude, as from many other proofs, so particularly from the report of the cardinals and others appointed by pope Paul III, a few years afterwards, to draw up a plan for the reformation of the church. Mosheim, iii. 368. See also Milner, v. 185, 186, 349. (766, 941.) Among the "Hundred Grievances" of Germany, one was the shameful exactions of the clergy for licences to keep concubines. 112. (687.)

[1] Sleid. 127—129.

[2] Seck. ii. 150, 151, 168.—Mercurinus Gattinara, the emperor's chief minister, who was friendly to reformation, and so desirous of peaceable counsels, that he seems, when very ill, to have followed his master at the risk of his life, in

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It was agreed on all hands that the subject of religion should first come under consideration. The interest which both parties took in the question would naturally lead to such an arrangement; and it was obvious that some termination must be put, or some healing means applied, to the internal divisions of the empire, before the attempt would be successfully made, to unite it against its foreign enemies. On the twenty-second of June, therefore, the emperor gave notice to the elector of Saxony and his friends, that at the next session, to be held on the twenty-fourth, they should present a summary of their faith, and an account of the reformation of abuses, which they demanded. According to the terms of the summons and the emperor's letters, the one party, as well as the other, should have been required to present the articles of their faith upon the points in question: the protestants however alone, as being the innovators, were thus called upon, and the catholics were saved the trouble and peril of presenting a direct object of examination and attack to their opponents. [1]

Religion the first subject.

The elector and his friends were prepared to meet the demand made upon them. 'The Confession,' or, as it was at that time called, 'The Apology,' had been drawn up for some time. Luther had furnished the materials, par-

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order to promote them, was alive when the summons was issued, but died before the diet assembled. (Seck. ii. 151, and 157.) His name (Mercurinus) frequently occurs in the letters of Erasmus and Melancthon, and every where he appears to bear a high character. Sentiments delivered by him in the prospect of the impending crisis, and indicative of a truly serious and pious mind, are recorded in a letter of Spalatinus, in Seck. ii. 157. Gerdesius has given us his portrait, and a fuller account of him. Hist. Ref.

[1] Seck. ii. 203.

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ticularly in the Seventeen Articles prepared by the elector's command, and presented to him at Torgau[1] in the month of March: but it received its form from the clear and eloquent pen of Melancthon, who indeed was revising and retouching it, to the very last moment, with a minute anxiety which Luther thought very superfluous.[2]

At the time appointed, therefore, the diet assembled, and the parties attended. It was four o'clock in the afternoon before business commenced; and much time was then spent in receiving the credentials of Campeggio, the legate, and in hearing from him a long Latin oration, to which the elector of Mentz, by the emperor's command, replied, assuring the papal representative, that "both the emperor and the states of the empire would discharge their duty, in a manner that should be approved by God, by the pope, and by all men." After this the Austrian ambassadors were heard, representing the calamities which that part of the empire had suffered, and the further danger to which it was exposed, from the Turks, and imploring that all proper measures might be adopted for its safety. This late commencement of business, and long occupation in preliminary matters, would seem all to have been arranged to furnish the emperor with a more plausible pretext for refusing to hear the confession read:[3] for, as to give it all possible publicity was an object with those who presented it, so to have it passed over with as little notice as might be was the aim of their adversaries.

[1] Milner, v. 560. (1163.) The Articles of Torgau are given by Scultetus, 154, 155.

[2] Seck. ii. 181, &c. "In Apologiâ quotidie multa mutamus." Melanc. Ep. i. 2.

[3] Seck. ii. 203.

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At length the stage was open, and the elector arose, attended by the several princes his friends, and standing near the throne, by Pontanus his ex-chancellor, (a man of eminent piety, eloquence, and experience in affairs,[1] who had been forced to retire from office through ill health,) entreated to have the "apology," which they had prepared, read, "that their real doctrines, and the observances of their religion, might be known, and that the great misapprehensions, and the consequent odium, under which they lay, might be removed." With this request, however, the emperor refused to comply; ordering the papers to be delivered to him, and promising to hear them the next day in private. To this the princes earnestly and strenuously objected, and pressed for permission to read them in the full diet—urging that the case was one which concerned their reputation, their fortunes, their lives, and even the salvation of their souls; and that, as the emperor graciously condescended to hear inferior persons, upon much less important matters, such an indulgence might reasonably be expected by them: and, at all events, they pleaded to be allowed to retain their papers in their own hands till they could be heard.[2]—At length he agreed that they should retain them, and that he would hear them the next day; not, however, in the full diet, but in the hall, which served the purpose of a chapel, in the episcopal palace where he resided, and which would hold about two hundred persons.[3]

presented:

[1] See his Life in Melch. Adami Vit. Germ. Jurisconsult. 51—53. He will be further noticed in the appendix.

[2] They too well knew that, if once previously examined in private, their papers would never be heard in public.

[3] Sleid. 129. Seck. ii. 168—170.

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On this occasion Ferdinand was observed to whisper in his brother's ear, and was suspected of making suggestions unfriendly to the protestants; though afterwards, (Seckendorf observes,) when he knew them better, he was more favourably disposed towards them.[1]

read, June 25.

On Saturday, therefore, the twenty fifth of June, the princes and dignitaries of the empire, with the representatives of such as were personally absent, assembled—none but official characters being admitted;[2] and the protestant princes, and the deputies of the imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, with Christian Bayer, the elector's chancellor, and Pontanus presented themselves—Bayer bearing a German, and Pontanus a Latin copy of the confession. The elector and his companions proposed to stand during the reading, but the emperor desired them to take their seats. Bayer and Pontanus therefore came forward into the middle. The emperor wished the Latin copy to be read: but the elector, proposing his request in terms, which would have made it unpopular to reject it, said, "As we are in Germany, I trust your majesty will allow us to speak German;" and the emperor assented. Bayer therefore read deliberately, and in so audible a voice as to be heard beyond the hall, in the court below, the whole of the confession and its appendages —which occupied him two hours. When he had finished, both the copies were offered to the imperial secretary, but the emperor himself took the Latin one, and then courteously dismissed the assembly, causing it to be signified to the parties, that he would take the subject into his most serious consideration.[3]

[1] Seck. ii. 169. Hane, Hist. Ref. ii. 9.
[2] Seck. ii. 203.
[3] Seck. ii. 170, et ibi Maimburg.

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This public reading of a document which asserted and maintained all the great principles of protestantism, and openly impugned the errors, doctrinal and practical, of the church of Rome, was to Luther, amidst all the discouragements and anxieties under which he had to console his friends at Augsburg, a matter of great triumph and devout exultation. He thus writes to the elector the very day on which he had received his highness's letters:[1] "Our adversaries think they have succeeded to admiration, in procuring the preaching to be stopped by an imperial prohibition: but, poor men! they do not perceive, that, by the exhibition of a written confession to the emperor, more is done to make known and propagate our doctrine, than perhaps ten preachers could have effected. Islebius,[2] it is true, and the other divines are silenced: but forth come the elector of Saxony and the other princes and lords, with a written confession of faith in their hands, and preach, with all possible freedom, before his imperial majesty and the whole empire, in the view of all the world, so that they are forced to hear, and can say nothing against it!...Truly Christ is not silent in the diet!...Thus is that accomplished which is written, *The word of God is not bound!* No: if it is prohibited in pulpits, it shall be heard in the palaces of kings."[3]

Luther's joy at the reading.

If the public reading of the confession, taken alone, were such a subject of rejoicing, much more might it be so when taken in connexion with the wide extended publication of it, which soon followed, and with its being made to this

[1] Which was not, however, it would seem, till the 9th of July.

[2] Agricola.

[3] Seck. N. 183.

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day the doctrinal standard of so large and so respectable a section of the Christian world. The printing of the confession, or of any thing relating to it, was indeed for the present forbidden; but it was soon translated into numerous languages, and manuscript copies were dispersed in all the courts of Europe.[1]

Its effects.

But, in fact, the immediate effects of the confession were such as to justify a large portion of the joy and triumph which Luther expressed on the occasion. Mosheim says, "The princes heard it with the deepest attention and recollection of mind: it confirmed some in the principles they had embraced; surprised others; and many, who before this time had little or no idea of the religious sentiments of Luther, were now not only convinced of their innocence, but moreover delighted with their purity and simplicity."[2] In conformity with this description, the manuscript narrative abstracted by Seckendorf, observes, that "many eminently wise and prudent persons pronounced a favourable judgment of what they had heard, and declared they would not have missed hearing it for a great deal."[3] Father Paul also observes, "It is not to be omitted that cardinal Matthew Langi, archbishop of Salzburg, told every one," after hearing the confession, "that the reformation of the mass was becoming, the liberty of meats proper, and the demand to be disburdened of so many commandments of men, just: but that

Archbishop of Salzburg.

[1] Seck. ii. 171. Scultetus (156) says, the emperor himself sent copies to the principal sovereigns of Europe for their opinion and advice respecting it. It was translated into Italian for the pope, who was but a poor Latinist! Melch. Adam. Vit. Lutheri. 68.

[2] Mosh. iii. 354.

[3] Seck. ii. 203.

a poor monk should reform all was not to be endured." [1]—"The archbishop of Salzburg would not have the world reformed by a (poor) monk!" This is Father Paul's marginal notice of the sentiment: and a notable instance that sentiment furnishes of the pride and prejudice of the human heart. But "God's thoughts are not our thoughts, neither his ways our ways." "He hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty: and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things which are: that no flesh should glory in his presence." "The poor monk," or rather Almighty God by his means, did "reform the world;" not only the protestant world, but in a degree the popish world also. And when, almost, was it ever heard, that extensive and thorough reformation proceeded from those in high stations—too generally the very heads of the corrupt system, and owing their greatness to it?

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Bishop of Augsburg.

But of another prelate, Christopher von Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, we have a much more promising account. After hearing the confession, he is related to have said, "What has been recited is true; pure truth; we cannot deny it." [2] And some time after, when he was among the commissioners appointed to bring

[1] F. Paul, 52. Luther also refers to this speech in his Warning to the Germans. Seck. iii. 5. It immediately follows in F. Paul, "Cornelius Scoper, the emperor's secretary, said, that, if the protestants had money, they would easily buy of the Italians what religion pleased them best: but that, without gold, it was impossible to make their's shine in the world."

[2] Seck. ii. 170.

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about, if possible, an agreement between the parties, the following occurrence took place. "After much dispute, the bishop of Augsburg, the diocesan of the place, and a man of prudence and firmness, rose, and in a pious and solemn discourse, entreated the princes and prelates to guard, with anxious care, against determining any thing contrary to the word of God, and inconsistent with rectitude and justice. It was too true," he said, "and manifest to all men, that the Lutherans, in what they maintained, had hitherto opposed no one article of the Christian faith: and, this being the case, it became all, who feared God and loved peace, earnestly and frequently to consider, by what means the ancient tranquillity might be restored and preserved." On hearing him utter these sentiments, the archbishop of Salzburg, directing his discourse to him, demanded, "Whence comes this sudden change, and this unexpected sanctity of yours?—for I distinctly remember to have heard from your mouth, other sentiments, and other feelings than these, expressed concerning religion?" The bishop of Augsburg replied: "I do not deny that in the course of my life hitherto I have done many things worthy of censure, and contrary to piety: but present circumstances imperiously require of me to renounce ungodliness and the allurements of sin, and to commence a new life. And, not to dissemble what I think, perhaps your manner of living, my lord of Salzburg, is not much more religious, or more virtuous, than my own: and your proceedings are worse than mine, in proportion as you more obstinately and eagerly excuse your sins, palliate idolatrous abuses, and attempt to defend

and uphold unholy doctrines: of all which impiety God forbid that I should make myself a partaker!" The elector of Brandenburg (Joachim) then warmly took up the question against Luther; and the bishop of Augsburg as warmly defended what he had advanced, affirming that what the Lutherans assailed "was not the catholic church, but only the abuses prevailing in the church of Rome; and that no one could deny that many gross and dangerous errors remained in that community." The elector of Mentz was obliged at length to interfere, and terminate the discussion.[1] A. D. 1530.

Such a case not only strikingly illustrates the impressions which were made on men's minds, but it is extremely interesting and affecting in itself; and happy shall I be, should my future researches bring to light any decisive proofs, that the present was no mere passing conviction in the mind of this prelate, but that he was enabled to overcome the many temptations to which his station exposed him, and faithfully to confess Christ before men; to follow out his convictions, and, according to the hopes which he himself expressed, "to walk in newness of life." At present, however, I know of no such evidence. He was a friend and correspondent of Erasmus, who dedicated to him his 'Ecclesiastes,' or Discourse on Preaching, and always spoke highly of him. With respect to his leaning towards the reformers, Erasmus says, "The bishop of Augsburg thinks that some concessions should be made for the sake of peace: on which account he bears with many the character of a Lutheran;

[1] From Celestine, Hist. Comit. Aug. iii. 25, in Seck. ii. 159, 160.

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whereas there cannot be a more upright and blameless man than he is."[1]

Apology for minuteness.

If any think that my narrative here becomes too minute for general history, I would take the liberty of saying, that it is peculiarly consonant to the design with which the "History of the Church of Christ" was begun and carried on, to shew the power of divine truth, and the influence of divine grace upon the heart of man, of which individuals must necessarily be the subjects: and this is done, as most illustriously in the case of the elector of Saxony and the leading characters of the reformation, so likewise, as far at least as conviction and "the strivings of the Spirit" go, in the case of the bishop of Augsburg. For myself also I must avow, that I feel so deeply interested in the noble struggle maintained at the diet of Augsburg, in the cause of Christian truth and Christian liberty, against the mighty powers which had for so many ages borne down both one and the other, throughout the greatest part of Christendom, that I cannot prevail with myself to withhold any material circumstance respecting it.

Review of the Confession.

But it is time that we should give some more particular account of the contents of the celebrated Confession there exhibited. It is every way worthy of such notice, both for its own merits, and for the influence it has had, and indeed to a considerable degree yet retains, in the world. It is also quite in conformity with the design of this history, to make the reader throughly acquainted with the principles of

[1] Erasmi Epist. xxvi. 32.

works on which such men as Luther and Melancthon laboured, and which have proved eminently serviceable to the church of Christ. A. D. 1530.

The enemies of Lutheranism indeed have spoken of the confession as not fairly representing Luther's opinions, but only those of his more temperate and yielding friend: and Luther, it is true, was sensible that "some things were omitted," and some "more softened than perhaps they should have been;"[1] and he thought Melancthon unnecessarily nice about the wording of it in every part; yet, on all doctrinal points especially, Luther and Melancthon were one: and how well satisfied the former was with the confession is evident, both from the exultation he expressed on its being publicly read, and from his own explicit declarations.[2] The objection, however, it should be observed, only makes the evidence more strong as to the real doctrines of the reformation. It is agreed on all hands that those doctrines are not here *overstated.*

The work occupies seventy-six closely printed octavo pages in the *Syllogè Confessionum,* published at Oxford, 1804. It is introduced by a prefatory address to the emperor, and is subscribed by seven princes and the representatives of two cities. It purports to be "the Confession of their Divines and Preachers," to which

[1] "Justô mollius prolata." Seck. ii. 170, 171.

[2] It was sent to him on the eleventh of May for his judgment and remarks. He answers on the fifteenth: "Mihi eximiè placet, nec quicquam in eâ corrigere aut mutare possum. Neque etiam a me aliquid emendari conveniret. Ego enim ita molliter et delicate incedere nequeo." Scultet. 155. Buddeus, 93.—Again, July 3, "Relegi heri tuam Apologiam diligenter totam, et placet vehementer." Budd. 127.

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they themselves fully assented.[1] It consists of twenty-one "chief Articles of Faith," followed by seven others concerning the changes made by the reformation of abuses in the practice of the church; and concludes with an "Epilogue," in which it is observed, that numerous other abuses might have been specified, but that, to avoid prolixity, and to promote conciliation, the writers had confined themselves to such as were most essential; and that, if on any points further explanation were desired, they should be most ready to afford it. To most of the articles of faith are subjoined rejections of the opposite errors: so that each topic may be said to be explained both positively and negatively.

The following are the subjects of the articles of faith.

*1. The Trinity	11. Repentance
2. Original Sin	12. Confession
*3. The Person and Work of Christ	*13. Sacraments
†4. Justification	*14. Ministering in the Church
†5. The Holy Spirit and the Word	15. Ceremonies
†6. Good Works—their necessity and acceptableness	*16. Civil Institutions
†7. The Church	*17. Judgment, and the Future State
*8. Unworthy Ministers	*18. Free Will
*9. Baptism	19. The Cause of Sin
*10. The Lord's Supper	†20. Faith and Good Works
	†21. Prayer, and the Invocation of Saints.

The articles concerning the abuses, which had been reformed, are the following.

[1] It appears that Melancthon would have had it presented merely as the Confession of the divines, and that the princes should not involve themselves with it: but in this he was overruled. Camerar. de Vita Melancth. § 37.

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1. On the Mass
2. On Communion in both kinds
3. On Confession
4. On distinction of Meats, and on Traditions
5. On the Marriage of Priests
6. On Monastic Vows
7. On the Ecclesiastical Power

The articles marked thus (*), in the former of these lists, were wholly admitted by the popish divines appointed to examine the confession; (except that in the thirteenth they would have had seven sacraments acknowledged;[1]) those marked thus (†) they wholly rejected. The rest in that list, they partly admitted and partly rejected.[2] Those of the second list were, of course, wholly offensive to

[1] It appears that originally the article concerning the eucharist simply declared, "That the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and distributed to the receivers:" and in this form it was that the papal divines approved it. But, it being found, that the omission of all mention of the bread and wine gave occasion to represent the framers of the article as admitting transubstantiation, it was afterwards altered thus—"That *with the bread and wine* the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present." Du Pin vi. 120, 121.—Seckendorf, ii. 171, has some observations on the variations which had been made in the confession. They appear not at all to have affected the doctrine taught, and to be immaterial to us.—The change, however, in the article of the eucharist, in particular, has been made the theme of vehement declamation by the adversaries of the reformers; among whom Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, in his History of Protestant Variations, is eminently distinguished. All the world, indeed, knows that the question, concerning *the mode* of Christ's presence in the eucharist, produced a lamentable division among those who withdrew from the communion of the church of Rome in the sixteenth century. But what was the true origin of their discrepancy? What else than the extravagant notions upon this subject, which had been so wrought into their minds in that church, that in this instance alone Luther, the boldest genius that the world ever saw was not able, to his dying day, wholly to rise above his early prepossessions.

[2] Du Pin vi. 117.

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them, being direct attacks upon the practice of the church of Rome.

Extracts from it.

I give the following selection from the articles of faith; to which I shall subjoin some remarks on the whole.

Original Sin

"Art. II. By original sin we understand the *guilt* by which all men, on account of the fall of Adam, are from their very birth obnoxious to the wrath of God and eternal death; and the *corruption* itself of human nature propagated from Adam; which corruption comprehends the want of original righteousness," or holy disposition, "and concupiscence," or evil affection. "And this defect (or absence of holiness,) and this concupiscence are things condemned, and of their own nature deserving death.[1]—And this original corruption is truly sin; still bringing with it condemnation, and eternal death, to those who are not born again through baptism and the Holy Spirit."

Justification

"Art. IV. When the gospel has convinced us of sin, our alarmed hearts ought to hold to this, that freely, for Christ's sake, are given unto us remission of sins, and justification, through faith: by which (faith) we ought to believe and confess, that these things are given to us for the sake of Christ, who has become our sacrifice, and has propitiated the Father.—

[1] "In every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation." Ch. of Engl. Art. ix.—The confession states three things: 1. *Guilt* entailed by Adam's sin: 2. *Depravity* of disposition: 3. That this depravity (independently of actual transgression,) is *criminal*, and exposes to condemnation. On the first of these points our article appears to be silent.—Eccius and the other Roman catholics denied that *concupiscence* or evil propensity is sin; and we shall hereafter find that doctrine strongly asserted by the council of Trent. To maintain the contrary, they affirmed, was to deny the benefit of baptism. Seck. iii. 297.

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Although, therefore, the gospel requires repentance, yet, that remission of sins may be sure," or firmly assured to us, " it teaches us that this blessing is given unto us *freely;* that is, that it does not depend upon the condition of our worthiness, neither is bestowed on account of preceding works, nor for the worthiness of any works to follow: for (our) pardon must hang in doubt, (*incerta fieret,*) if we were thus to think, that then, and not before, we should obtain remission of sins, when we had merited it by preceding works; or when our repentance had become worthy of it. [1]—The conscience, under genuine convictions, finds no work which it can oppose against the (just) anger of God: and Christ is given and proposed to us as our propitiator. This honour of Christ ought not to be transferred to our works. Therefore Paul says, *Gratis* (freely) *are ye saved;* and also, *Therefore it is by faith, freely, that the promise may be sure:* that is, the promise will then be sure, when we know that it does not depend on the condition of our worthiness, but is (freely) given for Christ's sake.—This is the firm and necessary consola-

[1] Those are afterwards censured who taught that absolution was unavailing " unless we were *sufficiently* contrite;" and that we must stand in doubt of our absolution, because " no one could know himself to be sufficiently contrite." " What is this," it is asked, " but to take away from the consciences of men the consolation of the gospel?" (p. 165.) And again, speaking of confession, " If no sins were forgiven, but those which were specially recited in confession, the consciences of men could never be at peace, because there are many sins which they can neither observe, nor recal to mind."—We should examine ourselves as to the *sincerity* of our repentance: but, if it is such as leads us to renounce sin, and to " count all but loss for Christ," we should *disquiet* ourselves no further about the *degree* of it, or the *depth* of our contrition.

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tion to serious and alarmed souls. And so also the holy Fathers teach."—The sentence of Ambrose so urgently insisted on in our Homily is then quoted: "This is the ordinance of God, that they which believe in Christ should be saved, without works, by faith only, freely receiving remission of their sins." "Consider diligently these words," saith the Homily, "without works—by faith only—freely—we receive remission of our sins. What can be spoken more plainly, than to say, that freely—without works—by faith only—we obtain remission of sins."[1]—The faith spoken of is then explained to mean, not a mere historic belief, or acknowledgment of the facts of the gospel history; but an embracing of "the peculiar promise of the gospel," namely that of pardon, justification, and eternal life, freely given to us for Christ's sake; a reliance upon promised mercy alone; which will lead us, as is afterwards more fully explained, to love God, and be fruitful in all good works.

The Holy Spirit.

"Art. V. The Holy Spirit is given to us, and works effectually in us, through the word of God and the sacraments." "When we are thus comforted through faith, and freed from the terrors of sin by the Holy Spirit, our hearts conceive other (genuine) virtues; acknowledge rightly the mercy of God, feel true love for him, true fear of him, confidence in him, hope of his help, prayer, and the like *fruits of the Spirit*."

Good Works.

"Art. VI. When we are reconciled to God by faith, the righteousness of good works, which God hath commanded, must (*debet*) necessarily follow. But, since the infirmity of human nature is such, that no man can satisfy the divine

[1] Hom. of Salvation, 2d part.

law, it is necessary to teach men, not only that obedience must be rendered, but in what manner also it may be acceptable to God; lest they fall into despair, when they perceive that they cannot satisfy the demands of the law. This obedience, then, is acceptable, not because it satisfies the law, but because the person is in Christ reconciled by faith, and believes that" (according to the promise of God) "the remainders of sin are forgiven him. For it is always to be considered, that we obtain remission of sins, and the person is pronounced righteous, that is, is accepted, freely for Christ's sake, through faith; and that subsequently his obedience to the law is pleasing to God, is reputed a kind of (*quandam*) righteousness, and obtains reward (*mereri præmia*).... And this obedience must (*debet*) resist evil inclinations, and continually, through spiritual exercises, become more pure, and shun every thing that is contrary to conscience.... But they who comply with corrupt inclinations, and act contrary to conscience, are guilty of mortal sin, and retain neither the righteousness of faith, nor that of good works: according to that sentence of Paul, *They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.*" A. D. 1530.

"Art. XVIII. Concerning free will they teach, that the human will possesses liberty for the performance of civil duties," or the duties between man and man in civil life, "and to choose things subject," or submitted, "to reason: but it has not power, without the Holy Spirit, to perform spiritual righteousness." Free-Will.

"Art. XIX. Though God creates and preserves all nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of evil beings, namely the devil and wicked men." Cause of Sin

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Faith and Works.

Art. XX. The charge of neglecting good works is here repelled—"it is a manifest calumny"—and is retorted upon those who advance it. The works extolled under the reign of popery, it is affirmed, were little else than "fasts, festivals, a monastic life, pilgrimages, the invocation of saints, and other useless observances:" but now good and useful services, beneficial to men, and acceptable to God from persons in all situations of life, were inculcated.—The fiftieth Psalm is quoted in what appears to be its true intention. "Here God addresses the whole human race, condemns a confidence placed in ceremonies and other observances, and signifies his displeasure at those who so inculcated these, as to bury under the load of them the service which he required."—"Our adversaries," say the compilers of the confession, "because they corrupt the true doctrine concerning faith, 1. Can propose no sure ground of comfort to men's consciences; 2. They abolish the true worship of God; 3. They throw into shade the works commanded by God, and greatly prefer human traditions... But our preachers, with becoming zeal, have illustrated each of these points: they propose the glad tidings (gospel) concerning faith, and they add pious instruction concerning works."

To this article are appended two disquisitions concerning faith and works. In the former it is said, "Heretofore, when this consolation was not proposed, many trembling consciences endeavoured to pacify themselves by works: some betook themselves to a monastic life, some to one species of works, some to another, by which they were to obtain remission of sins and justification. But there is no firm consola-

tion, except this doctrine of the gospel," above stated: "and this whole doctrine is provided and adapted for the conflicts of a conscience alarmed" by the sense of sin. [1] A. D. 1530.

The following explanation is also here given: "When we say, We are justified by faith, we do not mean that we are righteous on account of the merit of this virtue" of faith: "but the meaning is this, that we obtain the remission of sins, and imputation of righteousness, by

[1] In a subsequent part of the confession, under the head of Traditions, it is said, "Gerson," who was chancellor of the university of Paris, and whom Mosheim calls "the most illustrious ornament" of the fifteenth century, and "the oracle" of the council of Constance—"Gerson writes, that many fell into despair, and some even committed suicide, because they found it impossible satisfactorily to observe the traditions of the church, and had heard of no consolation from grace, and the righteousness of faith."—Sylloge, pp. 169, 170.—With this we may combine the following striking passage quoted by Seckendorf (iii. 119.) from Luther on the Galatians: "What I here say from St. Paul's words, I have learned by experience, my own and that of others, in the monastery. I have seen many, who, with the utmost diligence and scrupulosity, have omitted nothing which might pacify conscience; have worne hair cloth, fasted, prayed, afflicted and exhausted their bodies by various severities, so that, even if they had been made of iron, they must at length have been destroyed; yet the more they laboured, the more fearful they became. And, especially as the hour of death drew nigh, they were so full of trepidation, that I have seen many murderers, condemned to die for their crimes, meet death with more confidence, than these persons who had lived so strictly."

Experience like this was well calculated indeed to make the liberty of the gospel, and the doctrine of a free justification, precious.—But I should wish it to be considered, how far it is the real understanding of that doctrine, and how far mere indifference and greater carelessness of mind, which preserve men generally from such disquietude now. I doubt not the former cause has its influence, but so also, I must apprehend, has the latter.

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mercy (alone), for the sake of Christ: but this mercy cannot be received except by faith."[1]

In the latter disquisition the following statements occur. "When we propose to the churches the necessary doctrine and consolation of faith, we add the doctrine of good works; namely that obedience to the divine law is necessary in them that are justified. For the gospel preaches newness of life, according to that promise, *I will put my law in their hearts.* This new life, therefore, must be obedience to God.—The gospel also preaches repentance; nor can faith exist except in the penitent: for faith brings consolation to the heart under alarm and contrition for sin."

"Among good works, the first and highest service of God is faith itself;[2] and it is the parent of many other virtues, which cannot exist till faith is conceived in the heart.... While men are in doubt whether God will hear them, while they think that they are rejected by him, they do not truly call upon him. But, when by faith we apprehend the divine mercy, then we fly to God, love him, call upon him, expect his aid, obey him.... Our adversaries would be thought nobly to exalt the doctrine of good works; and yet, concerning these spiritual works, concerning faith, and the exercises of faith, in prayer, and in all the engagements, deliberations, and dangers of life, they say not a word.... But it is necessary, that in the church men be instructed concerning these internal

[1] See the fine passage with which the second part of the Homily of Salvation concludes; and the second paragraph of the third part. Also the well known passage of Hooker, concerning "faith the only hand which putteth on Christ to justification." Of Justif. § 31.

[2] John vi. 29.

works and fruits of the Spirit. For these works mark the distinction between truly pious persons and hypocrites. The latter may perform outward worship, outward ceremonies, and other outward works; but these services—true penitence, fear, faith, prayer—belong only to the true church." A. D. 1530

"It is necessary also to teach men how they may be *enabled* to perform good works. We teach, that in the gospel the Holy Spirit is promised, to help and govern the minds of those who repent and believe. Wherefore in every part of life, under the great infirmity of nature, and amid the snares of the devil, and all dangers, faith must be exercised in prayer, that we may be enabled to persevere in faith and obedience to God.... True virtues are, beyond all doubt, the gifts of God.... But to these gifts our own diligent exertions must be added, to preserve them, and to obtain the increase of them—according to the text, *To him that hath shall be given*:... for good works have their reward, both in this life, and, after this life, in life eternal."

A few remarks may now be offered on the confession at large. Remarks on the Confession.

1. The general resemblance of the doctrine maintained, and even of the language in which it is stated, to that of our own articles must strike every attentive reader. But this is little more than what is common to all the confessions of faith composed at the period of the blessed reformation. Shades of difference might and would exist; but on all leading points the reformers were "of one heart and of one soul." "One Spirit"[1] from God evidently 1. Resemblance to Articles of the Church of England.

[1] Ezek. xi. 19. Eph. ii. 18. 1 Cor. xii. 11—13.

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rested in a large measure upon them, and "opened their eyes to behold the wondrous things of his word." The same blessed truths burst almost simultaneously upon their astonished and enraptured view; and the contrariety of the whole, to the system of darkness and delusion which had prevailed, stood discovered in such a manner, that they "could not but speak forth" to all the world the things which they had learned. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the doctrine of the reformation is *one:* it is all one in the main: and the slight differences among the leading instruments in the work, and especially in the writings designed to exhibit the doctrines of the several churches, are not worthy to be named in comparison with the general harmony and agreement. And this is as true of the confessions which may be supposed to have been most influenced by the tenets of Calvin, the Helvetian and the Gallican, for instance, as with respect to any others.[1] It is delightful to trace this, and with it the sound and salutary doctrine, delivered in so devout and edifying a spirit, with which they are replete. I would recommend every theological student to have the satisfaction of tracing it for himself in the "Sylloge Confessionum," already mentioned, or in either of the more extended works, entitled "Harmonia Confessionum," and "Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum," printed at Geneva, the former in 1581, and the latter in 1612, and under several other dates.

2. Its Doctrine of Justification.

2. It will have been observed, where the grand stress of all is laid; namely on the an-

[1] See Works of the Rev. T. Scott, vol. viii. pp. 395—421; particularly pp. 397, 408, 409.

swer to the question, "How shall man be just with God?" and in what manner the doctrine of justification by faith is stated—the nature, the grounds, and the effects of it. It is "freely, by the grace of God, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," and our interest in this unspeakable blessing is received simply through faith; and "depends not on the condition of our worthiness, neither is bestowed on account of preceding works, nor for the worthiness of any works to follow"—though follow they assuredly will in every true believer—in every one who has any part or lot in the blessing. This is the great doctrine of the reformation;[1] and not of the reformation only, but of the 'holy catholic church;' the "articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ." This is the doctrine which, as Luther and his friends evermore so strikingly set forth, at once brings peace to the conscience, and holiness into the heart and life; gives liberty *in* the service of God, not, as some would insinuate, *from* that service: the doctrine which, blessed by the Spirit of God, in the sixteenth century, overthrew the gainful, but corrupt and oppressive system of austerities, indulgences, purgatory, and priestly domination, that had for ages been growing up, and supplanting true religion and righteousness in the world. It is the doctrine which persons unacquainted, or but imperfectly acquainted, with Christian experience, and the operation of the Holy Ghost on the hearts of men, are ever ready to think big with a thousand dangers, and which there-

A. D. 1530.

[1] The declaration of Melancthon is remarkable, which he makes in one of his epistles written at this period: "Neque enim hoc negari potest, nos in discrimen vocari *hanc unam ob causam*, quod sentimus Deum placari, non nostris observationibus, sed propter Christum." Mel. Ep. i. 120.

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fore is ever liable to be tampered with, and to fall into disuse; but which has always been recovered again, to the establishment of peace in men's consciences, and righteousness in their lives, in proportion as God has "poured his Spirit from on high" upon his church.

Yet I need not point out how effectually this doctrine is guarded against abuse, and made altogether practical in its application. Nothing is more observable throughout the important document before us, than the anxiety which it manifests to give peace to the conscience, on sure and solid grounds, or than its considering this as necessary for bringing men to the true and spiritual service of God. How contrary is this to the common opinion, that to be assured of pardon, and of having found favour with God,[1] must make us careless of our conduct! The former, in contradistinction to the latter, I am convinced, is the doctrine of scripture, of fact, and of sound philosophy also.—'The doctrine of the merit of works,' we have lately heard it pronounced, and that by *protestants* high in office, 'is less to be dreaded than that of justification by faith only!'[2] Alas! what utter want of acquaintance with the whole question—with the nature of the two doctrines, and with their tendencies and effects, respectively,—with the practical *working* of each—does the assertion discover! It is no other than the popery of the human heart speaking out under a protestant profession.

[1] The very blessing described Rom. v. 1, 2. Having "peace with God—access into a state of grace," or favour, and in consequence "rejoicing in hope of the glory of God."

[2] Debates on the Catholic question.

A. D. 1530.

3. Another thing, much to be noted, is the *spirit* in which the work is composed. This is such as to make the perusal of it delightful to the pious mind. It is no mere cold, dry, doctrinal statement: a sacred unction overspreads it. It bears upon its very face, to be the production of men with whom religion is a matter of deep and serious feeling: it all has a direct reference to what I shall take leave to call *experience*,[1] and to practice; to give relief to distressed consciences, and to produce spiritual obedience. All its doctrines it delivers for the benefit of those who are burdened with the sense of sin: and it takes for granted that we have all need to be so burdened; and that true religion generally begins in such a sense of guilt and danger. And with great propriety does it address itself to persons thus affected; to the "poor in spirit," the "contrite in heart," the "weary and heavy-laden:" for Christianity itself is designed for such characters. No others will understand it, value it, and make the right use of it.

3. Spirit of the work.

4. Lastly, I would point out some particulars which, though of inferior importance, are yet worthy of notice.

4. Omissions.

There is no article answering to the seventeenth of our church, on predestination and election. The only notice of the subject, that

[1] I wish to use no term of which I cannot give an intelligible explanation. By 'religious experience,' I understand the series of *effects* produced upon the mind—on its hopes, its fears, its joys, its sorrows, its purposes, and its performances—by the various truths of the gospel, as they successively come under its review, and are applied to it by the power and blessing of the Spirit of God.—Is there any thing irrational in this?—I beg to refer to an entire section on the subject in Scott's Works, vol. vii. pp. 213—228.

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I have observed, is under the twentieth article, which, laying down a doctrine similar to that of our church, concerning "the promises of God being in such wise to be received, as they are *generally* set forth to us in holy scripture," says, "As the preaching of repentance is universal, so also the promise of grace is universal, and requires all men to believe, and accept the benefit of Christ;" and then adds, "There is no need here for discussions concerning predestination, and the like topics." All competent judges must admit, that "here," or in such a connexion, they would be misplaced.

It would seem also not to admit the doctrine of final perseverance. At least it says, (Art. X.) "We condemn the anabaptists, who deny that persons once justified can lose the Holy Spirit again."[1]—The subject of the sacraments likewise appears to be slightly treated in the confession, as compared with our articles.

With all its zeal, also, against justification by works, or dependence upon our own works, it is less scrupulous in the use of certain terms, than almost all have now learned to be. It hesitates not to say of repentance, "meretur remissionem peccatorum;" of good works, (those of the justified believer,) "merentur præmia." *Mereri*, however, though usually rendered *to deserve*, the lexicographers tell us,

[1] It is remarkable that this doctrine, on which I confess it seems to me extremely difficult to arrive at any absolute and universal decision, on scriptural grounds, appeared to Arminius the most difficult to be rejected of all those commonly denominated Calvinistic. A very short time before his death, he declared himself "not yet able to answer the testimonies of scripture which stood for it:" and the question is avowedly left undecided in the "Five Articles" of the Remonstrants.—See Scott's Works, vol. viii. pp. 478, 488, 489.

means, to gain, "whether by desert or otherwise:"[1] and such is evidently its sense in the writings of the reformers.—Luther himself, two years after this, in his lectures on the Sermon on the Mount, expressly admits the use of the word *merit (meritum)* in a qualified sense; namely, "if it be used for the *gracious* reward, or *gratuitous* recompence, which God hath promised to piety and patience."[2]—What we are to learn from this is, not to revive so abused and dangerous a term, but never to make a man "an offender for a word."[3] A. D. 1530.

Further: like a few incidental passages in our Homilies, it seems sometimes to approach too near to confounding faith with the assurance of personal acceptance—which must be rather the *consequence* of believing, than believing itself; an inference drawn from comparing what is *wrought in us*, with what is *declared to us* in the holy scriptures.—We must however remember, that the reformers had so much to contend against those, who, on principle, or to answer their own interested purposes, kept men in perpetual suspense, and distressing uncertainty respecting their acceptance with God; and they had themselves felt so forcibly the bondage and unprofitableness of such a state; that it cannot be matter of surprise, if occasionally they verged a little to the other side—while in general their doctrine concerning the *proof*, as well the *ground*, of acceptance is perfectly clear and scriptural.[4]

[1] Ainsworth. [2] In Seck. iii. 35, 50.

[3] Melancthon brands the term strongly enough, in the year 1520: "Immo unde profana illa meriti appellatio, qua nihil impudentius, aut magis impié confingi potuit?" Seck. i. 109.

[4] Melancthon, in some theses which he wrote about the

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But the point, on which I should be inclined to judge the confession most defective, is the work of the Holy Spirit; particularly that part of it which relates to "the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will," and not only "working with us when we have" that good will. Of this I find no *explicit* mention: certainly, at least, it would seem to be of those things which are "justo mollius prolata."

I notice this especially for the purpose of remarking, that the fashionable way of speaking of the grace of God 'assisting our endeavours,' and of branding every thing beyond this as fanatical, is a mere cover for practically excluding the grace of God altogether. When we speak of 'assisting a man's endeavours,' it implies that he is already willing and active himself: but is this the state of fallen man with respect to the service of God, previously to the influence of divine grace upon his mind? Prevenient grace must go before, and "work in us to will," or assisting grace will find nothing with which to cöoperate.—The language now frequently in use also implies, that any thing beyond *assisting* grace must be a *compulsory* influence. But it has been justly observed, that there is much said in scripture, and in all our best divines, of an influence *inclining* the heart, though not *forcing* it; all which is

year 1545, clearly expresses the sort of limitation which is, no doubt, to be understood in all that he and his brethren have elsewhere delivered upon this subject:—"Doctrina de fide, quâ jubet Deus unumquemque *agentem penitentiam* statuere, sibi ipsi vere remitti peccata propter Mediatorem, non propter alias placationes." In Seck. iii. 625. This implies that our *repentance* is to be ascertained, before *assurance* is assumed.

thus overlooked.[1] —Nothing can be further from my intention than to admit, that the Confession of Augsburg countenances any such system as this: it has merely omitted to guard against it so clearly and distinctly as our articles have done. A. D. 1530.

But these are only specks in the sun. As a whole, the work is admirable; a noble monument of what the reformers contended for,—namely, Christian truth, liberty, and spiritual worship, as opposed to "will-worship" and mere outward observances, to intolerable burdens imposed upon conscience, and to the prostitution of every thing high and holy to subserve the purpose of acquiring gain or power.[2]

Proceedings respecting the Confession.

We now turn to the proceedings adopted after the reading of the confession.—The legate, with the other papal emissaries, had been anxious that the protestants should not at all be heard, but that a decision should at once be pronounced against their tenets, as already condemned by Leo X; and that force should be resorted to to put them down: in short, that the edict of Worms should be strictly executed.[3] As this could not be carried, the legate ab-

[1] Scott's Works vol. vii. pp. 136—145. See 1 Kings viii. 57, 58; Psalm cxix. 36; cxli. 4; Phil. ii. 13. "Incline our hearts to keep this law," &c.

[2] Melancthon justly says, "De nobis extabunt testimonia ad omnem posteritatem, nos pie et religose sensisse, et studium collocasse in illustrandâ doctrinâ ecclesiæ catholicæ, et amplificandâ gloriâ Christi. Hic cultus est vere λογικὴ λατρεία, quæ maxime placet Deo, verbum Dei pure tractare et docere." Epist. i. 120: de Conventu Augustano.

[3] Seck. ii. 171. Mel. Epist. i. 4, 9.

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sented himself when the confession was read, that he might not even seem to compromise the rights of the church, by admitting that to a hearing, which she had condemned. [1] The emperor, however, desired his advice respecting the confession, and he accordingly read it in private, with the divines who accompanied him; and thought, says Father Paul, "that a censure of it ought to be published in his name:" yet, "foreseeing that this would give occasion to greater tumults, and saying plainly that *the difference for the most part seemed verbal*, and it imported not much whether men spake after one manner or another; and that it was not reasonable that the apostolic see should take part in the disputations of the schools; he refused to have his name used in these contentions." On the whole, however, he concluded, "that, the doctrine of the Lutherans having been read, to remove prejudice," that is, to efface the impression which had been made in its favour, "a confutation of it should be read likewise—but not published, for fear of opening a way to disputations; and that means should be used, by proposing favours and threats, to prevent the protestants from going further." [2] This statement, from the pen of a discerning and independent Romanist, presents a curious display of the public policy of the papal church, in combination with the private feelings of many leading churchmen of that communion—mere worldly, and perhaps sceptical politicians in a priestly garb. [3] In the

[1] Such were the instructions which he had received from the pope. Seck. ii. 210. [2] F. Paul, 52.

[3] "In his sunt quidam belli homines, palam Epicurei καὶ ἄθεοι, qui secure irrident omnes religiones."—"Neque

view of such men, the points in dispute among religious parties are not, in themselves, worth notice, and it matters little how they are decided—"whether men speak after one manner or another:" but authority must be upheld and submitted to; the plea of conscience, in such matters, cannot be allowed—indeed it can hardly be conceived of; "favours," on the one hand, and "threats" on the other, must surely produce compliance! A. D. 1530.

The emperor's counsellors concurring in the last-recited opinion of the legate, the confession was delivered into the hands of the popish divines, particularly Faber and Eccius, that they might prepare a refutation of it. And on this work they employed between five and six weeks.

During this time all things "hung in doubt," and a tedious "languor" oppressed the protestants.[1] The period was, however, made sufficiently painful, as well as wearisome, to them. This we shall see more fully hereafter: but we may here remark, that during this period Campeggio's plan of "favours and threats," particularly the latter, began to be put in practice; and it was applied to different individuals in the manner which was thought most likely to reach their respective cases. The elector of Saxony had never yet received formal investiture in his dignities and dominions from the emperor, though his right was unquestioned, and he had had actual possession for some years. He now applied for

Harsh treatment of the Protestants.

ignoramus, quam ridiculæ videantur hæ disputationes de religione, et de evangelio, Epicureis illis, qui principes concitant adversus nos." Melanc. Ep. i. 120.

[1] Incerta hærebant, languebantque omnia. Seck. ii. 180.

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the performance of this ceremony; but was surprised by a refusal! "The emperor would not grant it, unless the elector would return to the catholic church." Such a proceeding might seem to indicate, on the part of the emperor, further views than he would choose to avow. In the same terms he refused to ratify the marriage of the elector's pious and excellent son, John Frederick, with Sibylla of Cleves. This was the more mean and cruel, as, in order to break off a match between his own sister (subsequently queen of Portugal,) and this young prince, Charles had promised to afford every countenance in his power to any other suitable alliance. In like manner, he threatened to deprive the marquis of Brandenburg of the guardianship of his nephew. To the landgrave of Hesse, on the other hand, he held out the hope of the restoration of Ulric of Würtemberg, who had been expelled from his dukedom—an object which the landgrave had much at heart.[1] But such "threats and favours" were as unavailing as they deserved to be; and no one of the protestant princes was induced by them to swerve in the least from the principles which they had in common avowed.[2]

The "Refutation" of the Confession.

At length the popish divines presented their Refutation of the Confession. "The conclusion of it," says Sleidan,[3] was severe and hard; "no less than the ban of the empire being threatened to those that obeyed not:" that is, I presume, the divines came to this decision, and submitted it for the sanction of the states, who alone could pronounce such a sentence. The emperor is said not to have approved the

[1] Robertson, iii. 85. [2] Sleid. 132. Seck. ii. 194. [3] Sleid. 130.

harsh and invective tone of the refutation;[1] and Du Pin observes, that "the princes were of opinion, that all the biting expressions, which the divines could not help bringing in, should be taken out."[2]—Thus qualified, it was read, on the third of August, in a full assembly of the states, the emperor premising that it had his approbation, and should receive his support.[3] A. D. 1530.

As already intimated, the refutation divided the articles of the confession into three classes, one of which, containing doctrines common to both parties, it wholly approved; another it wholly rejected; and the third it partly approved and partly condemned. The substance of four, out of six, doctrinal articles wholly rejected, is thus stated by Du Pin, "That men are not justified by the merit of good works, but by faith alone."—With respect to the marriage of priests, wonder was expressed, how the protestants could demand it, "since it was never in use from the very age of the apostles!"—The mass was affirmed, of course, to be "a sacrifice for the quick and dead," and this extraordinary argument was used in its support: "That Daniel had prophesied long before, that when Antichrist should come the daily offering should cease:[4] that that was not indeed yet come to pass; but that nevertheless, in those places where mass was despised, altars de-

[1] Seck. ii. 172.

[2] Du Pin, vi. 117.—Melancthon says: "Eccius his diebus questus est apud suum quendam amicum, Cæsarem pene tertiam scripti sui partem eduxisse: ac suspicor præcipua libri ornamenta deleta esse, hoc est, insignia mendacia et sycophantias stolidissimas." Ep. iii. 179.

[3] Melanc. Ep. i. 12. Seck. ii. 172.

[4] Dan. viii. 9—12.

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stroyed, and images burned, there that prophecy was fulfilled!"[1]

A day or two after the reading of the refutation, Melancthon (who, however, had not himself been present,) wrote concerning it to Luther: "At length we have heard the refutation, and the determination of the emperor, that he will suffer no schism in Germany. Though this is sufficiently violent, yet so puerile was the refutation, that it produced much mutual congratulation among us. No book of Faber's is equal in point of weakness to this!....The contention, concerning our being allowed a copy, lasted till eight o'clock in the evening, when the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, and the duke of Brunswick, requested our princes to desist, and they would endeavour to effect an arrangement for them. ....., All good and wise men seem to be in better spirits since they heard this silly refutation."[2]

After the reading of the refutation, it was acknowledged on the part of the emperor and of the catholic princes, that some abuses existed, of which he would endeavour to procure reformation. With this prospect before them, and after all that they had heard, he trusted that the protestants would return into the bosom of the church, and submit themselves; in which case they might expect every favour at his hands: but, if otherwise, he must then act as became the guardian and defender of the church.[3]

A copy of the Refutation refused

The elector of Saxony answered for himself and his friends, That they would do any thing

[1] Sleid. 131. [2] Melanc. Ep. i. 12. Seck. ii. 172.
[3] Sleid. 130, 131. Du Pin, vi. 117.

for peace which they could do with a safe conscience; and, if convicted of any error by scriptural authority, they would readily renounce it. But he desired a copy of the refutation, that they might consider it at leisure, and shew on what points it was not satisfactory to them; which would be in conformity to the fair and candid discussion to which they had been invited.—This however was refused. Two days after, a copy was offered, merely for their private perusal, and on condition that no transcript should be made, and that it should not be communicated to any other persons, as the emperor would *have no further debate*, but required them *to submit to his decision*.—On such conditions they declined to receive it. A. D. 1530.

The Landgrave leaves Augsburg.

The day, or rather the night, following, the landgrave suddenly quitted Augsburg, without taking leave; a step which displeased the emperor, and seems to have been by no means agreeable to his own party. He left, however, deputies to represent him, and alleged, as the reason of his departure, the sickness of his wife: but the fact seems to be, that, being a discerning, and at the same time a somewhat hasty man, he had seen enough to convince him that no good was to be expected at Augsburg, and he did not wish to be longer detained there.[1]

Conferences between the Parties.

Thus all prospect of the friendly discussion of differences, which had been proposed, and much more that of pacification, seemed to have vanished. None but the protestants had submitted their tenets to examination, and they had been met only by an angry "refutation," (as it was called,) and by demands of implicit submission, backed by threats in case of their

[1] Sleid. 131. Seck. ii. 172. Mel. Epist. i. 13.

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refusal to comply. But the elector of Mentz and other princes were desirous of seeing somewhat further accomplished, and they undertook to act as mediators between the parties. Their mediation, however, did not wear a very conciliatory aspect, when, in the very first conference which was held, one of their number permitted the declaration to escape him, That, if the elector of Saxony did not renounce and anathematize the new-fangled doctrine which he had embraced, the emperor would by force of arms deprive him of his dignities, his possessions, and his life. This outrageous sentence, which, it would naturally be suspected, did but betray counsels which were secretly cherished on that side, much agitated and disturbed the good elector, who was becoming old and infirm;[1] but after a little time he recovered his composure, and suffered not himself to be in the least moved by it from his purpose.[2]—To the honour of those concerned it deserves to be recorded, that, at this very period of danger and difficulty, four fresh cities, all of them of but moderate strength and resources, joined the protestant cause. These were Kempten, Winsheim, Hailbrun, and Weissenberg. Seckendorf on this occasion, alluding to a verse of a Latin poet, which remarks how seldom persons in adversity receive an accession of friends, observes, "The power of truth, however, and of Christian faith often produces such miracles."[3]

After the mediating princes had tried in vain, first seven commissioners were deputed on each side, namely three princes, two lawyers, and

[1] Gravis annis, et debili corpore. Seck.
[2] Seck. ii. 173, 175. [3] Ibid. 175.

two divines, and then three on each side, two lawyers and one divine, to endeavour to effect some pacific arrangement; and the whole month of August was spent in long conferences directed to this end. This part of the history, however, we may despatch in few words. All was, as might have been expected, without effect. The differences did not admit of compromise; nor could toleration be thought of by the church of Rome, nor the unreserved submission demanded of them, by the protestants. There was in fact an opposition of spirit, as well as of principle between the parties, the one intent on "the power of godliness," the other hostile to all beyond "the form:" so that there was much truth in the sentence imputed to Luther by Maimbourg, "That concord might as soon be established between Christ and Belial, as between Luther and the Pope."[1] A. D. 1530.

Much was perhaps hoped for from the pacific and yielding spirit of Melancthon:[2] but, though he incurred much odium, particularly with the imperial cities, for what he allowed or maintained concerning episcopal jurisdiction and authority—in which, however, Luther did not disagree with him;[3] and though, no doubt, he was sometimes disposed to concede too much; yet in general he knew where to stand firm, particularly on points of doctrine;[4] and he had moreover the support of wise and determined colleagues, among whom Pontanus, the constant spokesman of the protestants, deserves especially to be distinguished.[5]

[1] In Seck. ii. 180.
[2] Ibid. 190 (4).
[3] Mel. Epist. iv. 104.
[4] Ibid. i. 15.
[5] On the subject of Melancthon's concessions I refer the reader to Seckendorf, ii. 159, 176 (L), and (a); 179 (7), and (9); 189 (l); 190 (4); 196 (14). Mosheim

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The whole business was, at the end of the month, referred back to the emperor in the same state in which it had been immediately after the reading of the refutation. "What will be the event," Melancthon here writes, "I cannot divine. Let us pray that God would incline the mind of the emperor to the preservation of peace, of which not only we, but all Germany now stands in the greatest need."[1]

iii. 358. Also to Strobelius in Camerar. Vit. Melanc. § 39. (w.)—Melancthon affirms of himself, "Ego nullum adhuc articulum deserui et abjeci, qui ad doctrinam pertineat:" (Ep. i. 20. iv. 104.) and Seckendorf, partly from Camerarius, his biographer, affirms of him, "In conflictu tamen hoc nihil concessit, quod causæ noceret; nec satis vera sunt, quæ Maimburgius scribit, vetitum esse, ne ultra cederet: id enim non nisi ad caput illud de episcopali jurisdictione pertinuit: in cæteris enim nemo metuebat Philippum cessurum esse."—Luther's sentiments concerning episcopal jurisdiction are declared in a passage which may serve as a specimen of the freedom from political and worldly views, which marks the proceedings of the reformers at this period. "This," he says, "we assure them, that, if they will in future tolerate our doctrine, and abstain from persecuting, and seeking to exterminate us, they shall suffer no loss of their jurisdiction and dignity from us. We aspire at no episcopal, or any other dignity: we only desire to be Christians, whose condition ought to be a despised and afflicted one. See Matt. v. and Luke iv."—(Seck. ii. 192 (6).) Liberty to preach the gospel ("liberum evangelium") was all they demanded. —See the "Consilia Theologica Melancthonis," (above referred to,) under this year 1530.—Luther somewhere censures the worldly-mindedness of the "cities," and ascribes to it the offence they took upon this subject of episcopal jurisdiction.—To the same purpose Melanc. Ep. i. 17. "De doctrinâ religionis nihil laborant; tantum de regno et libertate sunt soliciti." And again, i. 20. "Ita de suo regno, non de evangelio dimicant socii nostri." Also, iv. 105. "Semper ita sensit Lutherus, quem nulla de causa quidam, ut video, amant, nisi quia beneficio ejus sentiunt se episcopos excussisse, et adeptos libertatem minime utilem ad posteritatem."

[1] Epist. i. 20. On the subject of all the negotiations and conferences, thus closed, the reader is referred to Seck. ii. 173—194.

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It will be gratifying to turn form this scene of hopeless controversy, to the employments of Luther in his retirement at Coburg. This will lead us not only to further views of the character of this extraordinary man, but also to a more intimate acquaintance with the situation and feelings of the protestants at Augsburg,

Luther's employments at Coburg.

Luther, as has been observed, accompanied the elector on his journey to the diet as far as Coburg. He took up his abode, therefore, at the latter place in April, and he continued there till the elector's return in October following. He was to be here in a degree of concealment, so that his letters at this period are dated sometimes from "the wilderness," and sometimes, on account of the elevated situation of his abode, from "the region of birds." We may be sure that to his active and ardent spirit this long continued seclusion would often be irksome enough. He complains of the rare and tardy communications which he received from his friends at Augsburg: nor was he always well pleased with what he did hear. We read also of illness which he suffered, particularly an affection (tinnitus) of the head; and of the temptations of Satan, with which he was harassed.[1] But his magnanimity, supported by an extraordinary spirit of faith and prayer, enabled him to triumph over all discouraging and anxious circumstances; to be the comforter of his conflicting, and often desponding friends; to carry on his assaults, in a very efficient manner, against the upholders of the reigning delusions; and to promote the edification of the church by pious and instructive writings. Even the gaiety of his spirit did not forsake him, and

[1] Seck. ii. 180.

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he could mingle amusement, both for himself and his friends, with his more serious occupations.—He employed his leisure at Coburg, we are told, in "translating the Prophets, and composing a commentary on the Psalms; and, by way of relaxation, in rendering the fables of Æsop into German, or in writing humorous letters to his friends."[1]

His Admonition to the Ecclesiastics.

But particularly, a little before the emperor left Inspruck, Luther composed and published an address to the ecclesiastical members of the diet, well calculated to make the strong impression which it appears to have produced. He sent copies to the prince John Frederick at Augsburg, by whom they were forwarded to Dolzig, his father's ambassador to the emperor, with directions to him to put them into the hands of persons well-affected to their cause, in the imperial court.

In this Address, or "Admonition," after apologizing for the liberty he took in offering advice, he first pointed out how fruitless all harsh measures, hitherto adopted, had been, either in furthering the cause they were meant to support, or injuring that they were intended to destroy. He observes, that even the opposite party bore testimony to his doctrine, having *borrowed from him*, and learned *to preach in quite a different manner than they had heretofore done*. He urges the services which he must be confessed to have rendered, in checking the disorders of the fanatics, preventing sedition at Worms, and supporting the authority of the magistrates; in putting to rout the vendors of

[1] Seck. ii. 180.—Seckendorf (ii. 213—218.) enumerates and describes fourteen publications of Luther's in this year, besides those which are here noticed, and prefatory addresses to the works of others.

indulgences, upholding the rights of the bishops against the insolence of the monks, and removing many acknowledged abuses. The most specious charge against him was that of innovation. He repels it, therefore, and indeed retorts it, with great spirit. Having enumerated various particulars, he exclaims, "The remainder of really ancient usages among you, usages sanctioned by the canons and the fathers of the church, may be comprised in a nutshell; while the world itself is filled with your novelties. One worships and invokes S. Ann, another S. Christopher, another S. George, S. Barbara, S. Sebastian, S. Catharine: in short, it is impossible to recount the new objects and new rites of worship that have been introduced, and the date and origin of most of which might be distinctly traced: but where were the bishops and dignitaries to raise their voices against these innovations?" He animadverts with severity on the sort of *sermons*, which had not only been heard in the churches, but, without number, published to the world, and which were of the very silliest character. Nothing was heard in them of Christ, nothing of faith: the very best resounded only with the invocation of saints and the worship of the virgin. His testimony upon the last of these topics is very remarkable. "I myself, as much as any others, paid to Mary what was due only to Christ. Him I regarded as an angry judge: Mary, as the fountain of grace, to whom all our hopes were to be directed, if we would not be left utterly to sink in despair." And was not this an absurd and horrible novelty? Yet who reproved the authors of such falsehood and blasphemy? They taught us to fly from Christ, as a minister of vengeance, and to transfer to another all the

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confidence which we ought to have placed in him. From such deceivers, therefore, we learned nothing but idolatry."—Turning to the schoolmen, he affirms, "They did nothing but propose paradoxes; their whole art was founded in a contempt for scripture. And here," he says, "I know the truth of what I say: for I was brought up among them: I saw it with my eyes, and heard it with my ears."—He declares before God, that he did not animadvert on these things for the sake of reproaching any persons, but with the sincere desire of their reformation: but he threatens to proceed still further, if they did not adopt pacific measures.—He then goes on to notice the abuse of church censures, as the means of tyranny and extortion; and commends the remark of the canons of Magdeburg, that "his doctrine was injurious to their bellies and their purses." He censures also the misapplication of the ecclesiastical funds, the scandals arising from the celibacy of the clergy, and the utter neglect of the duties of their office shewn by the bishops. They even delegated ordination to their suffragans, and taught the people nothing at all. "God had preserved his church," he says, "without any aid from them: if it had depended upon them, it might have perished a thousand times."—He insists that, if any thing were conceded, in the diet, to the protestants, it ought not to be considered as a matter of favour: what they demanded rested on the grounds of justice.—He then earnestly exhorts the persons addressed to repentance and amendment. If no hope was to be entertained from them, he begs that they would not delay to take him off. "While living," he says, "I have been your plague, and dying I will be the death of you. God has stirred me up against you,

as he did the prophet Hosea against his people, that I should be to you as a lion and a bear." He and his friends, however, sought no diminution of the rank and revenues of the prelates; it hurt them not at all that they were lords and princes; they were ready to obey their authority as far as conscience would permit; and they desired no provision to be made for themselves: God would take care of them in that respect. They only asked peace, and exemption from persecution: they had sought, and would seek nothing, but that the gospel might have free course.—He gives a striking enumeration of the things taught and observed in the two churches, respectively, the popish and the protestant;[1] and concludes with again urging reformation and pacific measures. "But if," says he, "you determine (which God forbid!) to go on obstinately, and employ force, I, in conjunction with all those who think with me, do by this writing testify before God and the whole world, that we are not the authors of your perdition, which you draw down upon yourselves by your pride and wilfulness. Your blood is on your own heads. But may God, the author of peace and consolation, guide you into all truth, through Jesus Christ our Lord!"[2] A. D. 1530.

Its effects.

Seckendorf observes, that it was scarcely to have been credited, that Luther, who was to lie concealed, should publish such a paper as

[1] This enumeration of popish errors draws forth from the pious Seckendorf a devout prayer for those who still placed the essence of the gospel in such follies, and regarded with the bitterest hatred those who would not return to them. He trusts that God would shortly take pity on the many nations and people, who, under the profession of the Roman catholic religion, were involved in the profoundest ignorance.

[2] Seck. ii. 184—187.

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this, and send it to Augsburg, where all was to be conducted with the utmost caution! Yet such was the fact: and Cochlæus tells us, that the tract was publicly sold near the hotel of the elector of Saxony. It was also taken and read to the assembled catholic princes by the bishop of Augsburg, of whom we have already heard some interesting particulars, and "who," says Melancthon, relating the present fact, "contends resolutely for us, whatever his success may be." [1]

But what are we to conclude would be the effect of such a writing, published at such a time? Maimbourg, a hundred and fifty years after, is moved to such wrath by the perusal of it, that he exclaims, "I will speak my sentiments freely: The emperor is to be censured for not causing Luther to be detained, when he spoke before him in the manner he did at Worms. In that, however, he may be excused on the ground of the safe conduct which he had granted: but now, when Luther was proscribed by an imperial edict, and all were forbidden to harbour him; and when he still went on to issue his insolent papers in the very presence of the emperor, and in defiance of him; he might surely have compelled the elector of Saxony to deliver him up, that such contempt of the imperial authority might not go unpunished. If he would not do this from regard to religion, he evidently ought to have done it for his own sake." [2]—Charles, no doubt, had ecclesiastics about him who would feel and advise as Maimbourg would have done: but happily princes often see it necessary to take a wider view of the interests and feelings of those whom they govern, than the members of a par-

[1] Ep. i. 11. [2] In Seck. ii. 180, 188.

ticular profession do; and they enter not with the same keenness of feeling into their quarrels.[1] A.D. 1530.

Seckendorf will not venture to pronounce, whether this composition of Luther's, and another to be noticed immediately, tended to promote or obstruct the desired result; though he inclines to the former conclusion. With Luther, he observes, a private individual, to whom no appeal was made in the confession, and little reference in the discussions which followed, the prelates had nothing directly to do: yet there was much in his address, not only to carry conviction to their minds, but also to give them satisfaction on points which interested them more nearly than religious doctrines did; seeing Luther, at the very time that he asserted all his principles as vehemently as ever, so explicitly avowed his intention to leave their dignity, their jurisdiction, and their revenues untouched: and he remarks, as a striking fact, how many of those, who heard this address of Luther's, became within a few years, instead of enemies, friends and patrons of the reformation. He enumerates Herman, archbishop of Cologne, Frederick, count, and soon after elector, palatine, Joachim, son and successor of the elector of Brandenburg, Eric, duke of Brunswick, the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and others, whose representatives only were present; not to mention, counts, barons, knights, and free cities. He remarks also, in this connexion, the different tempers of Luther and Melancthon, and the different means by which they

[1] In some of these conferences, one having harshly observed, That, supposing Germany should be laid waste, the emperor had other dominions beside that; Charles reproved him, and nobly said, "An emperor ought to consult for the welfare of *the world*." Melch. Adam in vit. Pontani.

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pursued the same object: the former, open and avowed, indignantly exposing abuses, and demanding their correction as a matter of right; yet ready to obey as far as he conscientiously could: the latter, proceeding modestly and humbly; yielding whatever could safely be conceded, and supplicating the rest, as of favour, and acknowledging it as an act of grace.[1]—The fact is, Luther was one of those commanding geniuses who astonish mankind by the boldness of their measures. Men had by this time got to look for extraordinary proceedings from him; and, when he adopted them, they were either carried along with him, or, at least, overawed by that in him, which in others would only have raised their indignation.

His Letter to the Elector of Mentz.

The other publication of Luther's, to which we have alluded, was a printed letter to the archbishop of Mentz, in which he admonishes him to be on his guard against the Italians; warns him from the second Psalm, and from the fatal issue to their enemies, which attended the persecution of the apostles; conjures him to stand, like Gamaliel, between the protestants and their persecutors; and scruples not to tell him, that, while associated with the pope and his abettors, he stood involved with Satan himself.[2]—This letter was written in the month of July, while the confession was in the hands of those who were to refute it.

His correspondence.

But the private correspondence of the reformer will be still more interesting to us.

About the twentieth of May, the elector, then waiting at Augsburg for the emperor's arrival, wrote to Luther, having heard of his illness. He begs that he would make himself

[1] Seck. ii. 188.

[2] Seck. ii. 184.

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easy in his retreat, and bear his inactive life with patience; expresses the anxiety which all felt for his health, of which he charges him to take care; and prays God to preserve him. Luther in reply thanks the elector for the concern he took about him, and observes that he felt it his *duty* to take care of his health, and to pray for it; which he did faithfully. With respect to his situation, he says, "I pass my time without weariness: weeks seem to me but days: and we fare quite splendidly." He sympathizes, however, with the elector's situation, who experienced much inconvenience,[1] and had to bear the resentment of all the other princes, purely for the sake of the word of God:—on all other grounds they must esteem him for his moderation and virtue. But he bids him rejoice in this, as an honour assigned him by God; whereas the anger of heaven against his opponents was manifest, from their obdurate hostility to the gospel. He then adds, for the encouragement of his prince, a copious eulogy of the religious state of the electorate of Saxony. "Truly," he says, "there are more numerous and more excellent pastors and teachers in your highness's dominions, than in any other country in the world. Our youth of both sexes grow up so well instructed in the holy scriptures and the catechism, that it affords me the most sensible pleasure to see children learn more, and enabled to believe and avow more, concerning God and Christ, than all the papal colleges, monasteries, and schools heretofore knew, or even yet know. These tender plants form a

[1] It appears that, besides all other things, the great expence which the elector incurred by being detained so long at Augsburg, with his retinue, was far from convenient to him. Seck. ii. 154 (a).

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most pleasant paradise, planted by God himself, in your highness's territories, which has not its like in all the world beside. The children of God are protected and daily fed with the bread of life in your dominions: the very reverse of which is the case in those of the popish princes. In those countries, however, there are many who look to the *sacred land*, under your highness's sway, with ardent affection and fervent prayers."—These statements afford us valuable information concerning the effect produced by the dissemination of divine truth: and they were surely well suited to fortify the mind of the pious prince, to whom they were addressed, by the assurance that he was not encountering danger for no practical good. Like the apostle, he might well "not be ashamed of the gospel of Christ," when he saw it thus made "the power of God to the salvation" of his subjects. —Luther then calls God to witness, that he wrote not thus to flatter his prince, but in sincerity and truth, lest Satan should deject and sadden his mind. "I know him in part," he says, "and the artifices with which he often disturbs me. He is a gloomy and morose spirit, who reluctantly suffers any heart to enjoy peace; and much less would permit your highness now to do it, on whom he knows that so much depends."[1]

Seckendorf highly commends the emphasis and elegance of the German style of this long letter; and quotes it as an instance of the courteousness, and almost *courtliness*, of which Luther was capable, notwithstanding all that is said of his ruggedness and asperity.

Luther anticipated no favourable result from

[1] Seck. ii. 154, 155.

the discussions at Augsburg. "Certainly," he writes to Agricola, about the twentieth of June, (which was before the confession had been read,) "Certainly you have to do, not with men, but with the very powers of darkness, well practised, and fully equipped; but, what comforts me, full also of rage; blinded by which they must needs at length run foul of the counsels of divine wisdom, like a ship upon a rock."[1] A. D. 1530.

In a letter to Justus Jonas, of the same date, he says, "I exult in the gift of God, that our prince possesses so determined, and yet so calm a spirit. This makes me trust that my prayers for him are accepted in the kingdom of heaven." "Philip," he adds, that is Melancthon, "is harassed by his philosophy, and nothing else; for the cause rests with Him who sublimely pronounces, *None shall pluck it out of my hand.* I would not wish for it to be in our hands. Whatever hitherto I have been enabled to cast from myself upon him, has prospered: so true is it, that *God is our refuge and strength.* Who ever *trusted in Him, and was forsaken?*[2]"

This allusion to the forty-sixth Psalm, which has acquired the name of "Luther's Psalm," from the use that he made of it in his difficulties, may give us occasion to remark, that at this period he composed a metrical version of it, which was sung in the Saxon churches during the sitting of the diet of Augsburg.[3]

Melancthon's Anxiety.

Hearing of Melancthon's great anxiety and distress, he wrote to him, June 30, as follows:— "Grace and peace to you in Christ! My dear Philip, I am quite at a loss what to write to

[1] Seck. ii. 181. [2] Ib. 181.
[3] Scultet. 155. Maimb. in Seck. ii. 151.

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you: so much do the thoughts of your vain and sinful anxieties repel my attempts, and convince me that I speak to the deaf. This is owing to your trusting to yourself alone, and having no confidence in me or in others. I will declare the truth. I have been in greater straits than ever you will come into. I hope and pray that no man, not even our enemies who now so rage against us, may be like me," or exposed to what I have been: "and yet in those distresses my heart has often been relieved by the words of a brother: by those of Pomeranus, of Jonas, or of yourself, and others. Why then do you not, in your turn, listen to us? We speak not according to the flesh and the world, but according to God; and doubtless under the guidance of his Holy Spirit. Though we be worthless, I pray you, let not Him who speaks by us be esteemed unworthy of regard. If it be false that God gave his own Son for us, then let the devil, or let any one take my place: but, if he really did so, then what means our care, our anxiety, our sadness, our trepidation? As if he who gave his Son for us would not be with us in affairs of comparatively light moment! or as if Satan were stronger than he!—In private conflicts, (if my conflicts with Satan are to be called private,) I am weak and you are strong. In public ones it is the very reverse. You despise your life, but tremble for our cause! On the contrary, with respect to the cause in which we are engaged, I am confident, and at my ease, being sure that it is righteous, and the cause of truth, and, in fact, of God and his Christ, which has no need to tremble at the guilt of sin, as I a poor imperfect Christian have. I feel myself therefore almost a secure spectator; and value

not those fierce and threatening papists a rush. If we fall, Christ, the ruler of the world, will fall with us: and, if he falls, I choose rather to fall with Christ than stand with Cesar.—Nor are you at Augsburg the only persons who uphold this cause. Believe me, I am faithfully with you in groans and prayers. I wish I might be personally present: for certainly the cause belongs as much, and more, to me than to any of you. Nor did I take it up through any rashness, or from the desire either of glory or of gain; as the Spirit himself is witness, and as facts have declared, and will yet more widely declare. For Christ's sake, therefore, I beseech you, do not so neglect those divine promises and consolations, *Cast thy burden upon the Lord; Wait for the Lord; be strong, and he shall comfort thy heart.* The Psalms and Gospels are full of such passages. *Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* Christ is the conqueror of the world. What then, do we fear a vanquished enemy as if he were the victor? Such a sentence would be worth fetching from Rome or Jerusalem, though we had to creep all the way upon our hands and knees for it. But plenty and familiarity make us hold things cheap. Faith is weak: but let us pray with the apostles, *Lord, increase our faith!*—But I write in vain: since you, instructed by your philosophy, attempt to manage all these things by reason alone: you let reason lead you into folly, (cum ratione insanire pergis,) and vex yourself to death; never considering that the business is placed quite beyond your hand and your counsel, and will be conducted independently of your care. And Christ forbid that it should ever come into your hands! We should then come presently to a sudden,

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but forsooth a glorious end! (pulchre et subito perierimus!)—But do not you meddle with things too high for you.....The Lord Jesus preserve you, that your faith may not fail, but grow and conquer! Amen!—I have prayed, do pray, and will pray for you: and I do not doubt that I am heard; for I feel that *Amen* in my heart. If what we desire does not come to pass, what is better will: for we look for a kingdom, when all things in this world have passed away."[1]

In this letter he alludes to the archbishop of Salzburg as having peculiarly harassed Melancthon; and anticipates the Lord's "rewarding him according to his works."

On such a letter no comment can be needed. The spirit of faith, of wisdom, of fidelity, and affection, which pervades it, must make it deeply impressive to every Christian mind.

About the same time Melancthon had informed him, that a great part of their time at Augsburg was spent in tears; and that he could not fully open his mind to Pontanus, for fear of further distressing him.[2] On this Luther writes: "I hate these cares with which you are consumed. It is not the greatness of our cause, but the greatness of our unbelief that occasions them. The cause was more arduous in the times of Huss, and many others. And, however great it may be, its author and conductor is great: for it is not our's. If we are wrong, let us recant: but, if right, why do we make him a liar in his promises, who has bid us be of a composed and cheerful mind. It is your philosophy, not your theology, that disquiets you and your friend Joachim (Camerarius), who

[1] Seck. ii. 181, 182. [2] Mel. Epist. i. 6, 7.

seems to suffer with you under the same disease..... What worse can the devil do to us, than kill us?... As to the cause itself, (whether it be insensibility or courage, I leave it to Christ to judge,) I feel little disquiet about it: nay I have better hopes of it than I expected to entertain. If *we* are not worthy to support it, others will be.—If the danger increases, I shall scarcely be restrained from flying to you, that I may behold the formidable display of Satan's teeth."[1] A. D. 1530.

A short time after, writing again to Melancthon, in reply to the questions, whether any thing further, and what, might be conceded; he thinks, for his own part, (for, as to the elector, that was another question,) that enough, and more than enough, had been already conceded in the confession. He adds, "Day and night my mind is exercised upon this subject, considering, reconsidering, arguing, and examining every part of scripture; and my assured confidence in our doctrine continually grows stronger. By the help of God I will suffer no more (in the way of concession,) to be extorted from me, be the consequence what it may." He objects to their speaking of "following his authority." "I would not be, or allow myself to be called, your guide. If it is not equally your cause, let it not be called mine, or be thought to be imposed on you by me."[2]—"If we," he says again, "are not the church, or a part of the church, where is it to be found? Are the dukes of Bavaria, Ferdinand, the pope, the Turk, and the like, the church? If we have not the word of

[1] Seck. ii. 182.

[2] He seems always to have objected to being esteemed the head of a sect. See Milner, v. 147, (725,) and his Appendix, *Draco*.

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God, who have it? And, *if God be for us, who can be against us?* Sinners we are, and ungrateful, it is true; but he will not on that account prove false to his word.—But you do not listen to these things: so much does Satan afflict you. I earnestly pray that Christ may be your healer. Amen!"[1]

He concludes another letter thus: "Believe that Christ is with us, the King of kings, and Lord of lords. Should he lose this title at Augsburg, he will lose it in heaven and earth:" meaning that they might be as secure against the one event as the other.[2]

Situation of the Protestants at Augsburg.

In the middle of July he writes to Justus Jonas, that he had "less apprehension from the threats, than from the artifices and frauds practised against them at Augsburg." And indeed it is necessary to bear in mind the variety of ways in which the supporters of the protestant cause were there assailed. Without this we shall not properly enter into the difficulties of their situation, nor perceive the grounds of that great degree of distress which Melancthon and others suffered. They were indeed in general, though not always, treated with a degree of civility, particularly by the emperor; who seems in this way to have led both Luther and Melancthon into the opinion, which they willingly admitted, that he was more favourably disposed to them than the rest.[3] But by the avowed zealots of the papal

[1] Seck. ii, 182, 183. [2] Ib. 183.

[3] "I know nothing more worthy of remark in the whole diet, than the history of the emperor. His uninterrupted success must excite our admiration: but what is far more honourable, and more to be admired is, that, in the midst of such prosperity, and with every thing succeeding according to his wishes, he retains such moderation that not an arrogant

party, and by some also who more sincerely wished for peace, we must conceive of Melancthon, Pontanus, and their coadjutors, as baited from day to day, and every approach to their minds incessantly attempted, to awe, to allure, to betray them into concessions injurious to their cause or their honour. And it is under the influence of a daily conflict of this kind that we must suppose the gentle spirit of Melancthon, anxious to refuse nothing that he might lawfully yield, yet most religiously fearful of betraying the truth, to have been harassed to the degree we have seen that it was. The very idea also of involving his country in a civil war, the too probable and eventually the actual consequence, must have been distressing in the extreme to a patriot and a Christian

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word or action can be charged upon him. What prince can you quote to me, who has not been altered by prosperity? In the emperor alone the indulgence of fortune has been able to effect no change of mind. No inordinate passion, no indication of pride or severity is discoverable in him.... His domestic life is distinguished by continence, moderation, and frugality.... No profligate character can insinuate himself into his friendship.... So that whenever I look upon him I seem to have before me some one of the most celebrated of the heroes or demigods, who are said anciently to have sojourned with mankind: and much more justly to him, than to Augustus, may be applied the words of the poet,

> ' Quo nihil majus meliùsve terris
> Fata donavere, &c.' "

Mel. Ep. i. 120.

This is really too much to have been written after the battle of Pavia, the captivity of Francis, the sack of Rome, the imprisonment of the pope, &c. &c. It shews, however, how willing Melancthon was to be pleased, and how unwise princes and great men are, who do not purchase the esteem of mankind, when it may be often bought by them at so low a price as that of a little courtesy of manners and a few gracious words.

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minister—especially one of Melancthon's temper.[1] Of the direct *artifices* practised, the manuscript relation of the transactions at Augsburg, before referred to, as abstracted by Seckendorf, speaks in strong language. "The hypocrisy of some was shewn in conversing kindly with the evangelical preachers, that they might corrupt them, and *fish out* of them the secrets of their princes: so that it became necessary to forbid the preachers to enter into these conversations. In short, such were the arts, such the machinations employed, (which might be particularly described if needful,) that their adversaries themselves could not sufficiently wonder that the protestants were not entrapped by them. That they were not so, must be ascribed to the wisdom and power of God alone. They might adopt the words, *The snare is broken and we are delivered: our help standeth in the name of the Lord.*"[2]

When Luther heard of the demand that the abrogated rites should be restored, the monasteries rebuilt, and all things replaced on their old footing, he says: "Let us, on our part, demand that they restore to life Leonard Cesar,[3] and many others whom they have iniquitously

[1] He himself particularly mentions his anxiety on account of the princes, who had so much at stake, and who were undecided as to what should be yielded, what not. Ep. i. 16, 18. For himself he says, "Nihil moveor meo periculo." Further, "Nostra moderatio auget insolentiam hominum ferocium."——"Fuit eo in conventu valde solicitus Melancthon, ne vel conscientiam vulneraret, vel existimationem suam læderet, vel republicæ Christianæ incommodaret." Melch. Adami Vit. Melancth. 161. Camerarius says of him in these circumstances, "Ipse ego inter tales cogitationes non modo suspirantem, sed profundentem lacrymas conspexi, &c." De Vit. Mel. § 37.

[2] Seck. ii. 184, 202.

[3] Milner v. 468—471. (1065-- 1068.)

put to death. Let them restore the many souls ruined by their impious doctrine. Let them restore also the wealth extorted by indulgences and other cheats. Let them restore the glory of God, insulted by so many blasphemies; the purity of the church, so foully corrupted; and other things, more than can be enumerated." He recommends that they should meet the artifices of the papists by still appealing to a council—"which never would be held, but the appeal to which might serve to continue to them a state of peace:" and he again sharply reproves the fears of Melancthon.[1] A. D. 1530.

Again, comforting Brentius and Melancthon, (who was still, he says, "tormenting himself,") he declares that, after his death, by his writings left behind him, and by his prayers in heaven, he will be the defender of those who may follow him, and their avenger on their persecutors. "Some, indeed, he knows will say, *Where is Abel thy brother?* but, for himself, he looks to another world; and, for those whom he may leave behind him he says, He that created me will be the father of my child, and the husband of my widow, the ruler in the commonwealth, and the preacher in my parish."[2]

Such were the prudence, the undaunted courage, the faith, the piety, the zeal with which Luther sustained the spirits of his harassed and afflicted friends at this arduous period. Nearly half the letters in the volume of his epistles collected by Buddeus were written during the period of the diet of Augsburg, and I do not remember to have observed in one of them any other than the heroic spirit displayed

[1] Seck. ii. 184. [2] Ibid 213.

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in the above extracts. In one of them, addressed to Pontanus, I find the following fine burst of sentiment and description. "I looked out at my window,"—probably alluding to his custom of offering up his devotions standing at a window,—"I looked out at my window, and saw two prodigies. I beheld the glittering stars, and all the glorious vault of heaven: I looked around for the pillars by which it was upheld, but I could discover none. Yet it remained firm and secure. The same unseen hand, which had formed, sustained it still. Yet numbers anxiously search on all sides for its supports: could they feel them with their hands, they might then be at ease: but, as this is impossible, they live in constant disquiet, lest the heavens should fall down upon their heads!—I beheld again, and lo thick clouds of water, like a mighty ocean, which I saw nothing to contain, nothing to hold up, rolled above our heads. Yet they descended not upon us; but, after presenting a threatening aspect for a little time, they passed away, and a brilliant rainbow succeeded them. This was our protection.[1] Yet it appeared frail and evanescent: and, though it has ever hitherto proved availing, still numbers think more of the thick and dark mass of waters, than of the slender fleeting arch of light. They want to have sensible proof of its sufficiency: and, because they cannot obtain that, they live in dread of a second deluge."[2] The application to the case of his friends at Augsburg is obvious.

From this passage we obtain some intimation of the means by which our heroic reformer was enabled to soar so high, and to maintain such

[1] Gen. ix. [2] Buddeus, p. 173.

an elevation of confidence in God. The secret, however, is best discovered to us by the following account given by one of his companions in the castle of Coburg. "I cannot," he says, "enough admire the extraordinary cheerfulness, constancy, faith, and hope of this man, in these trying times. He constantly feeds these good affections by a very diligent study of the word of God. Then, not a day passes in which he does not employ in prayer at least three of his very best hours. Once I happened to hear him at prayer. Gracious God! what spirit, what faith is there in his expressions! He petitions God with as much reverence as if he were actually in the divine presence; and yet with as firm a hope and confidence as he would address a father or a friend. 'I know,' said he, 'thou art our father and our God: therefore I am sure thou wilt bring to naught the persecutors of thy children. For, shouldst thou fail to do this, thine own cause, being connected with our's, would be endangered. It is entirely thine own concern: we, by thy providence, have been compelled to take a part. Thou therefore wilt be our defence!' While I was listening to Luther praying in this manner at a distance, my soul seemed on fire within me, to hear the man address God so like a friend, and yet with so much gravity and reverence: and also to hear him, in the course of his prayer, insisting on the promises contained in the Psalms, as if he was sure his petitions would be granted."[1]

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Luther's prayers.

[1] Letter of Vitus Theodorus to Melancthon; Seck. ii. 180. This passage is given, by anticipation, by Dean Milner in the last note in his History. I could not, however, on that account, deny myself the pleasure of inserting it here in its proper place.

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Concluding transactions.

We proceed now to the concluding transactions at the diet.—The conferences between the two parties were reluctantly abandoned by the catholic princes, most of whom would fain have effected a reconciliation; but then it must have been by the protestants submitting to their opponents in all material points, and restoring the old order of things. Accordingly, after the discussions had been carried on in vain between first a larger, and then a reduced number of commissioners, they proposed again the appointment of a larger number: but the protestants answered that it was to no purpose; they had already declared the utmost length to which they could go in concession; and it had been pronounced unsatisfactory: they contented themselves, therefore, with claiming and pleading for toleration, till a free council could be held, to which the whole question might be referred.[1]

The terminating of the conferences was, on the other hand, highly agreeable to Luther, who saw that reconciliation was impossible; and that no good, but harm, was likely to result from them.[2]

Finding these means ineffectual, the emperor, on the seventh of September, after consultation with the catholics, sent for the protestant princes, and in the presence only of his brother, and a select number of his confidential advisers, expressed to them, by the mouth of Frederick count palatine, his surprise and disappointment at their conduct; "that they,

[1] Seck. ii. 193—196.

[2] Ibid 195 (12). "As for any reconciliation," he says, "it is in vain hoped for; for neither can we depose the pope, nor can the true religion be safe so long as the papal power continues." Sleid. 141.

who were few in number, should have introduced novelties, contrary to the ancient and most sacred custom of the universal church; should have framed to themselves a singular kind of religion, different from what was professed by the catholics, by himself, his brother, and all the princes and states of the empire; nay utterly disagreeing with the practice of all the kings in the earth, and of their own ancestors. Being desirous, however, of peace, he would use his interest with the pope and the other princes, to procure a general council, as soon as the place could be agreed upon; but still on this condition, that they should, in the mean time, follow the same religion which he and the rest of the princes professed." The protestants in reply "denied that they had formed any new sect; thanked him for the proposal of a council; but, as to receiving the rites and doctrines of the church of Rome, which had been abolished, they declared that they could not do it consistently with their consciences."[1] A. D. 1530.

After repeated deliberation, and making them the offer of further conference, (which they declined, as only occasioning useless delay, especially after the emperor had expressed his surprise that their opponents should have granted so much,) he ordered a committee to be chosen for framing a decree, and required the elector of Saxony to stay four days longer to hear the draught of it.[2]

[1] Sleid. 133.

[2] Ibid. 134. The commissioners for drawing the decree were the electors of Mentz and Brandenburg, the archbishop of Salzburg, the bishops of Strasburg and Spires, George duke of Saxony, William duke of Bavaria, and Henry duke of Brunswick.

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An abstract of the decree will be found in its proper place. After hearing it read, the elector of Saxony and his associates remarked, by Pontanus, "That they could never admit that the confession had been refuted: on the contrary, they were more than ever convinced that it was conformable to the word of God, which they would more fully have demonstrated, had a copy of the refutation been allowed them; but that, as that had been refused, they had, with much care, drawn up an answer to so much of its contents as they had been able to recollect; which answer they now begged to present to the emperor.[1] That, with respect to disseminating their sentiments, and making proselytes, they had compelled no man to embrace their doctrine, nor ever would do it; but that, as they had stated in their protest against the decree of Spires,[2] they could not be restrained from doing, within their respective jurisdictions, what conscience dictated with regard to religion. That they had no communion with anabaptists and sacramentarians; nor were such persons to be found in their dominions. And, finally, as the case was most important, and some of the parties concerned were now present only by deputy, they desired to have a copy of the proposed decree, that they might fully make up their minds respecting it, before it passed."[3]

[1] This defence of the confession, as well as the confession itself, was composed by Melancthon. It may be seen in his works, as it was revised and finished after he had become possessed of a copy of the refutation.—It forms one of the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. See Seck. ii. 206—208.

[2] Milner v. 554—556. (1154—1156.)

[3] Sleid. 135. Seck. ii. 200.

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The Apology, or answer to the Refutation, was refused by the emperor; who the next day, by the mouth of the elector of Brandenburg, "expressed his astonishment at the assurance which the protestant princes manifested, in affirming the truth and piety of their religion, and thus implicitly charging, not only the emperor and the other princes, but all their own ancestors, as heretics. In the proposed decree," he told them, "he had granted more than he ought to have done; and they would have to answer for the serious consequences which might follow, if they did not acquiesce in its enactments. That, as to their offered answer to the refutation, he had before declared that he would admit of no further debate: he neither might nor ought to do it: that nothing should be altered (in their favour) in the decree as already drawn up; and that unless they submitted to it, and concurred in it, he would take another course—in fact, that occasion would be given him to join with the other princes in making a new decree, and in taking such measures, that the sects lately sprung up might be utterly rooted out, and the ancient faith, rites, and ceremonies be preserved in force—which were things that properly belonged to his care and duty. That he too regarded conscience, and the salvation of his soul; and would far less forsake the ancient religion, which had been handed down through successive ages, than they would their new one." —The elector of Brandenburg further took upon him to say, "That, unless they obeyed, the rest of the states would do what the emperor should be pleased to command them; they having already promised to assist him with their lives and fortunes, for putting an end to

Melancthon's answer to the Refutation.

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these dissentions; and that the emperor, on the other hand, had passed his word to bend all his force and power to that object, and not again to quit the limits of the empire before he had seen it accomplished. These things," the elector said, "he now represented to them by order of the princes and states."

To the latter part of this address, the protestant princes replied with spirit, by Pontanus: "That they heard it with astonishment: that they had given no cause for it; being as ready as any persons to venture their lives and fortunes in the service of the emperor and the empire."[1] Several of the princes also afterwards apologized for it, declaring that it was unauthorized, and that they had told the emperor so;[2] who is said himself to have pronounced it "iniqua et nimia"—unwarranted and more than was called for.[3]—As to the rest, the protestants declared, that "they would do nothing obstinately, but were ready to yield every thing which they could consistently with the word of God: that, seeing they could not obtain a copy of the decree, nor time to consider it, it was to no purpose for them to urge any thing further; and that they therefore committed themselves to God, in whom was their hope of salvation."[4]

[1] Melch. Adam gives the speech of Pontanus on this occasion, which is very noble. In vita Pont.—See Appendix below, "Gregory Pontanus."

[2] Sleid. 137.

[3] Seck. ii. 201 (8).

[4] Even Maimbourg acknowledges: "Seeing the emperor fixed in his purpose, they resolved not to comply with the decree, but told him in a very respectful manner, that they would give him no further trouble, but would commit the affair to divine providence." In Seck. ii. 200.—Father Paul and Du Pin do not at all vary from the account of these concluding transactions here given from Sleidan and Seckendorf.

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This was on the morning of the twenty-third of September. The elector had not been present at the commencement,[1] but he came in afterwards; and, at the close, with singular cheerfulness and alacrity of manner,[2] taking leave of the emperor, he again expressed his confidence, "That the doctrine of the confession was firmly founded on scripture, and that the gates of hell could never prevail, nor even stand, against it."—The emperor then gave his hand to the princes, and allowed them to depart.

The Protestants leave Augsburg. Sept. 23.

The elector left Augsburg that evening, and passed the night in a neighbouring castle, where he the next day took the opportunity of hearing a sermon from one of his divines. Three days after, at Nuremberg, being asked by the senate his opinion concerning the measures which it would be proper to adopt, he wisely and piously replied, "That he had no doubt God would mercifully uphold his holy word, and the confessors of it: that his intention was, to take the advice of all his counsellors and divines, and that he recommended to them and the other protestant states to do the same: after which they might communicate counsels with one another."—On the eleventh of October he arrived at Torgau, and heard Luther preach there on the following sabbath. Some days before, he had been congratulated by the reformer on his release from Augsburg, in a letter, the anticipations of which proved almost prophetically correct. "I rejoice with all my heart that your highness, released from the infernal regions of Augsburg, has returned in safety to your friends and country. Though the malice of men and devils against us is great, yet I have

[1] "Ad iter paratus jentaculum sumebat." Seck. ii. 200 (4).
[2] "Quasi tripudians." Ib. 201.

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great hope that the grace of God, already manifested, shall increase and wax stronger in us.... I have committed the whole business to my Lord God, and I doubt not that he, who hath wrought in us to will, will grant us also to perform. Certainly it proceeds not from men, to devise and proclaim doctrine like our's. Since then the work is God's, and all things depend not on our skill or power, but on his, we shall see who they are that dare to fight against him. Let no hindrance be put in the way of those who wish to do it; for it is written, *Bloody and deceitful men shall 'not live out half their days.* They may make a beginning, and threaten terrible things, but they shall never be able to perform their devices.—May Christ by his Holy Spirit comfort your highness! Amen."[1]

It appears that, in his closing communications with the protestant princes, the emperor charged their preachers with having had "no small hand in the rebellion and wars of the boors;" and themselves with injustice and robbery in the deprivation of the monks, and alienation of religious houses,—the full restoration of which he demanded. With respect to the former, they utterly denied the charge; affirming that both themselves and their preachers had done every thing in their power to prevent and put down those disorders, and appealing to what had passed at the diet of Spires, four years before, as fully exculpating them, and sufficiently explaining the true cause of those insurrections: and indeed this charge afterwards drew from the elector of Mentz some apology.[2] With respect to the latter charge, they alleged that

[1] Seck. ii. 201, 202. [2] Sleid. 137. Seck. ii. 205.

the monks had not been turned out, but had fled in the time of the rustic war; and that the elector was ready to put the revenues under sequestration till the decision of a general council should take place,—the accounts to be rendered to the emperor: that, if the design of holding a council did not take effect, then the proceeds should be applied to pious uses: in short, that nothing of a pecuniary nature should be an obstacle to accommodation. But this did not give satisfaction; the restitution of the superstitious rites and religion, by means of the monks, being the object really aimed at.[1] A. D. 1530.

Besides the "Confession of Augsburg," two others were presented to the diet: one, called the Tetrapolitan, deriving its name from the four cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindaw; and the other from Zuinglius.[2] The former of these was drawn up by Bucer, and, as well as that of which we have so largely treated, was esteemed a masterpiece. Indeed the two differed, in sentiment, in little else than the article of the eucharist; namely, concerning the manner, or sense, in which Christ's body and blood are present in that sacrament.[3] Bucer, who perhaps occupied a middle ground between Luther and Zuinglius upon that point, and more nearly the ground of our own church than either of them,[4] earnestly pleaded that, as the Other Confessions

[1] Seck. ii. 204. also iii. 11, 12.

[2] See Milner v. 522—525. (1123—1125.) Mosheim iii. 355. (e.)

[3] On the difference which unhappily arose between the great continental reformers on this subject, I refer the reader to dean Milner's History, v. 191 &c, 396 &c. (772, 990.)

[4] Milner iv: appendix, *Bucer*. (v. p. (5).) According to Du Pin (vi. 121.) he taught "that the body and blood of Christ are *received by faith*" in the Lord's supper—

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danger seemed to thicken, and their difference did not appear very essential, they should all join in one confession—an union which the landgrave of Hesse also had long been labouring to effect:[1] but here even the mild and yielding Melancthon was as tenacious as Luther himself could be, and would by no means admit of it, or hold communion with those who differed from him upon this subject! Such, alas! is the weakness, and, on one point or another, the narrowness of human nature, even in the best and greatest of men.[2]

Zuinglius's confession, probably as proceeding from an individual, and that individual not so immediately connected with the empire, seems to have engaged but little attention: but of the confession of the four cities a separate refutation, and that of a sharper kind, was prepared by Faber and Eccius. The same part was acted over again with their deputies, as with the protestant princes; except that, as being less powerful, and in some respects more obnoxious, they were treated with greater harshness.—The authors of these repeated popish refutations were liberally rewarded for the services they had rendered—Faber, in particular, soon after obtaining from Ferdinand the archbishopric of Vienna: which gave occasion

which is precisely the language of the church of England. See Catechism, and Article xxviii.

[1] Milner v. 518—522. (1118—1123.) Du Pin vi. 121, 122.

[2] Some subsidiary motives also operated. Zuinglius's confession seems to have been justly objectionable in its doctrine concerning obedience to rulers, and perhaps in some other points: and all the 'Sacramentarians' lay under peculiar odium, with which Melancthon frankly tells Bucer he was not willing needlessly to load the protestant princes. Seck. ii. 199.

to Erasmus sarcastically to remark, that "*poor* Luther *made many rich.*"[1] A. D. 1530.

That eminent scholar had been invited to be present at Augsburg, and to assist with his advice in the religious discussions: but he declined the honour, having no inclination to incur the odium with which it would be attended, probably from both parties. Indeed he was seriously ill at the time. He corresponded, however, with different persons concerned, Campeggio, Melancthon, and others; still preserving his character, as Maimbourg not unjustly expresses it—"semper nempe inter utramque partem dubius hærens"[2]—"hanging in suspense between the two parties." He pleaded, however, for the toleration of the protestants, as the only means of preventing dangerous extremities. "The power of the emperor," he writes to Campeggio, (August 18,) "is great; but all do not acknowledge it. The Germans so acknowledge his authority, as rather to command than to obey. Luther's doctrine," he observes, "is spread all over Germany; so that from the ocean as far as Switzerland that chain of mischief is stretched. If the emperor therefore should declare, that he would Erasmus.

[1] On these confessions, and the treatment they met with, see Sleid. 137—139. Seck. ii. 198, 199, 209. Du Pin, vi. 119—126.

[2] Seck. ii. 196—198.—"I could not have gone," he says to one of his correspondents, "withour running the risque of my life, and I chose rather to live. I knew very well that, if I went thither, I should bring mischief upon my own head, without being able to compose the dissensions and tumults. I also knew on whose judgment the emperor relied; on divines, in whose opinion whoever will dare to open his mouth in favour of piety is 'a Lutheran,' and worse than a Lutheran. ...So I have some obligations to my bad state of health, which furnishes me with a plea for absence." Ep. 1152, in Jortin i. 501. 4to.

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in all things comply with the interest and desire of the pope, it is to be feared he would have but few to approve his doings.... The state of the church was sorely distressed in former times, when the Arians, Pagans, Donatists, Manichees broached their doctrines, and barbarous nations (like the Turks now,) made war against it: yet it weathered all those storms. Time and patience, sometimes cure the worst distempers: the Bohemians were tolerated, though they acknowledged not the pope; and, if the same thing were allowed the Lutherans, it would not be amiss, in my judgment. Though this would be bad enough, yet it was much easier to be borne than war." [1]—"Such however," remarks Maimbourg, with evident satisfaction, "Such were not the sentiments of the emperor or the catholic princes." This the event sufficiently declared.

"Recess" or Edict of Augsburg.

The diet continued to sit about six weeks after the departure of the protestant princes, engaged in providing supplies for the Turkish war, and arranging other matters; and it then closed by issuing its "recess," or final decree, on the nineteenth of November.

This decree enjoined the continuance, or restoration where they had been abolished, of all the accustomed rites and superstitions; condemned the denial of "free will" [2] as "brutish, and reproachful to God," and rejected the

[1] Sleid. 133.

[2] The reader should learn to distinguish (which is too seldom done,) between free will, in the sense in which it was denied by the reformers, and is rejected by our church, (Art. 10.) and free agency. All that is meant to be denied is, that fallen man will ever choose that which is *spiritually* good, without the prevenient grace of God.—See Scott's Works, vii. 76—102, 126—145. What Luther understood by "the bondage of the will" is sufficiently explained in Dean

doctrine of justification by faith only;[1] ordained that married priests should be turned out of their livings, which should immediately be given to others; but that such as should forsake their wives, and return to their former state, might be restored by their bishops, with the consent of the pope or his legate: the rest were to have "no refuge or sanctuary, but to be banished or otherwise condignly punished." It declared null and void "all unreasonable compacts which the priests had any where been forced to make, and all unjust alienations of church property:" that "nothing should be changed in those things which concerned the faith and worship of God; and that they who acted otherwise should forfeit life and goods:" that "monasteries and religious houses, which had been destroyed, should be rebuilt; and such persons within the territories of the protestants, as followed the ancient faith, should be taken under the protection of the empire: that application should be made to the pope for a general council, to be summoned within six months, and to meet within twelve months afterwards: that no appeal or protest against the enactments of this decree should have force; A. D. 1530.

Milner's ample review of his controversy with Erasmus on that subject. Church Hist. v. 263—367. (850—959.)

[1] It may be almost superfluous to entreat the reader to distinguish between being justified by faith *only*, and being justified by a faith *which is alone* in the mind, and, "being alone," that is separated from repentance, love, and obedience, "is dead." James ii. 17. See Hooker of Justification, § 31.—On the term "faith *only*" or "faith *alone*," Melancthon in his Defence of the Confession says, "Si displicet exclusiva, *sola*, tollant etiam ex Paulo illas exclusivas, *gratis*, *non ex operibus*, *donum est*, &c: nam hæ quoque sunt exclusivæ." Vide plura, Seck. ii. 206 (d).—In an epistle to Camerarius, dated Aug. 31, 1530, he says, "Imo effeci etiam, ut fateri cogeretur Eccius, justitiam contingere per fidem." Mel. Epist. iv. 104.

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and that, to the end that the decree might be observed and put in execution, as far as it concerned faith and religion, all men should be obliged to employ whatever fortune God had been pleased to bestow upon them, and their blood and lives beside; and that no man should be admitted into the judicature [1] in the Imperial Chamber," (the supreme court of the empire, supported at the common charge, for determining all questions that arose among the different states and members,) "unless he sanctioned this decree made about religion; and that they who refused to do so should be turned out." [2]

Seckendorf observes, that the draught read to the protestants, on the twenty-second of September, corresponded verbatim with the decree, as eventually published, up to a certain point; namely to that part in which the restoration of the monks was enjoined: but that that article and those which followed were either not then written, or were concealed. At that time, however, it was proposed to allow the elector and his associates till the fifteenth of April following, to determine whether they would acquiesce in the decree or not; an indulgence which they declined, as their minds were already made up. [3]

Remarks.

Such was the treatment which the pope, the emperor, and the great majority of the princes and states of Germany thought proper for men,

[1] Robertson understands this of "acting as judges or appearing as parties." Charles V. iii. 50. It would seem, however, that the meaning was, that no protestant should act as judge, advocate, or proctor, or even hold any inferior office in the court. See Seck. ii. 209 (1). iii. 421 (7).

[2] Sleid. 139, 140. Maimb. in Seck. ii. 199. Du Pin. vi. 123.

[3] Seck. ii. 200.

A. D. 1530.

to whom, after all allowances, we may apply the language of the apostle, and say concerning them, "Of whom the world was not worthy." Such was the "infamous"[1] decree of the diet of Augsburg. We cannot scruple to apply this epithet to it, whether we contemplate its particular clauses concerning the married priests;—holding out favour and reward to those who would "forsake their wives," but depriving of "all refuge and sanctuary," as the most atrocious of criminals, those who should retain them; concerning the restoration of all the exposed and exploded superstitions and idolatries; and concerning the obligations of all men to employ their blood and treasure in giving effect to these enactments:—or whether we consider its general tenor and design. It openly trampled under foot all the sacred rights of conscience, and breathed a determination to suppress by force and bloodshed, and at the risk of kindling the flames of civil war throughout Germany, the light which had lately broken in, and the reformation which was in progress. But this is only what Christians were from the beginning taught to expect. "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Ye shall be brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake—yea the time cometh when whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service."—One of the many important lessons which we are to learn from the review of such histories is, the duty of gratitude for the exemption which we enjoy from evils of this kind, and for the blessed changes which have taken place since the commencement of

[1] Milner.

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the sixteenth century. Unbounded gratitude, indeed, do we owe to Almighty God for the favourable circumstances in which we are placed; and to the illustrious men also who were his instruments in bringing about so blessed a revolution. At the same time we must not too confidently rely on the continuance of such a state of repose and prosperity. Still the spirit of the world is hostile to that which is of God; and it may again shew itself to be so beyond our expectations. It behoves us "while we have the light to walk in the light, that we may be the children of the light—lest darkness come upon us:" and still to remember that, "if we love father, or mother, or our own lives more than Christ," we are not and "cannot be his disciples."

The principles which were advanced in the interviews between the protestants and the more dignified of their opponents, particularly the emperor himself, may also deserve our remark. They are such as are still urged, though now generally in a more covert manner, against those who exhibit the 'singularity' which ever belongs, more or less, to "the power of godliness," in this fallen world. "The protestants were *few* in number—an *inconsiderable* party:—they ought to submit to the majority, and follow the same religion with the emperor and the rest of the princes.—Their's was a *novel* doctrine:—they introduced a *singular* kind of religion, disagreeing with the practice of all the kings of the earth. If they were right, *all others* were wrong—and even *their own ancestors* all heretics! Their *assurance* could not be sufficiently wondered at.—The emperor had regard to *conscience* as well as they, and would maintain the *ancient* religion." It is somewhat

amusing to hear the gravity with which these arguments are urged; while all appeals to the authority of scripture are considered as superseded by them. Luther subsequently made remarks on some of them, which may deserve here to be transcribed. A. D. 1530.

In his lectures on Isaiah, on c. xix. 11, *How say ye, I am the son of the wise, the son of ancient kings?* he says: "This was the first argument of the ungodly against the righteous, and it will be the last: 'Would you, standing alone, condemn so ancient a church? Are you alone possessed of wisdom? and were our ancestors blind?' With these two things, the reputation of wisdom, and the boast of antiquity, their minds are inflated. The Diatribe of Erasmus, for instance, amounts to nothing but what is here written—*I am the son of the ancient.*"—Again, on c. xxviii. 21, 22—the rejection of the Jews: "They assail us with this argument, 'Do you think that you, so few in number, are the church, in preference to us, who are numerous, powerful, and possessed of official right?' We simply answer, as Paul did to the Jews, However many and great you be, if ye believe not in Christ, and place not your trust in his righteousness, we regard you not. You are not the church by virtue of your filling ecclesiastical offices. It is written that the abomination may *stand in the holy place,* and that antichrist shall *sit in the temple of God.* The church is known by faith in Christ, and not by office and numbers."[1]

Finally, It is probably to be regarded as a matter of congratulation, that all the attempts to effect the proposed accommodation between the

[1] Seck. iii. 81.

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parties failed. Had this been effected, it must have been by concessions which would have proved eventually, if not immediately, dangerous to the protestant cause. Luther well observes concerning them: "If mutual concessions are made, they will take our's largely, more largely, most largely, and make their own sparingly, more sparingly, most sparingly."[1] Seckendorf seems also with good reason jealous of leaving the Roman catholic prelates in possession of that full jurisdiction, which Melancthon, and even Luther, would have conceded to them. It might have been kept in check while such men as the first reformers presided over the protestant societies, but, when they were removed, and less powerful and less watchful pastors succeeded, it might have gone far towards carrying things gradually back to their former state.[2] Here too the finger of providence is probably to be acknowledged and adored.

But we turn now to the means by which it pleased that gracious providence still to screen the reformation, and for many years longer to frustrate the effect of the decree of Augsburg, as it had done that of the edict of Worms.

[1] "Large, largius, largissime... stricte, strictius, strictissime." Ep. to Melanc. in Melch. Adam. vita Luth. 68.

[2] Seck. ii. 176, 196, 212, 213.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG TO THE PACIFICATION OF NUREMBERG.

THE decree of the diet of Augsburg, so formally promulgated, after long and full deliberation, and bearing so severe a character, supported moreover by a combination of the catholic princes, in which even Charles himself concurred,[1] naturally excited the most serious apprehensions of all the members of the protestant body: and they accordingly proceeded to form such plans, and adopt such measures, as appeared most likely to avert its effects, and protect them against the rising storm.

Luther's Admonition to the Germans, Dec. 1530.

Luther, sensible how greatly the minds of the German people could be agitated on the occasion, and how much those, in particular, who favoured his cause, might need both encouragement and counsel, with his wonted promptitude and vigour, published, before the close of the year, his "Warning to his beloved Countrymen." In this work he complains loudly of the inexorable spirit of his adversaries, especially the ecclesiastics, "whom, in the late diet, no submissions, no entreaties, no considerations whatever could soften; and whom, therefore, he concludes that God had given up to be hardened. Their threats, however, he is confident, would be vain and impotent. They were

[1] Robertson iii. 51. Seck. ii. 200, iii. 11.

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even in danger of raising popular seditions against their authors: which, notwithstanding, he condemned, and discountenanced by all means in his power. If war should ensue, which seemed but too probable, his party were free from the guilt of it, and might expect protection from God—such as they had hitherto experienced. But for himself, if he lost his life in the contest, the pope would find this a fatal blow to his own cause. His adversaries" he affirmed, " were compelled most reluctantly to acknowledge, that the confession contained no article whatever contrary to scripture, but only to the pontifical impositions: that they, therefore, were guilty of tyranny and murder, who shed the blood of so many innocent persons for no other crime than their adherence to the protestant doctrines. If they went to war in such a cause, they must do it with a disturbed and bad conscience, and would have no better success than had attended that before waged against the Bohemians.[1] If war were commenced against them, he, for his part, would write nothing, either to incite his friends to self-defence, or to discountenance them in it, but would leave to the lawyers the question of its equity: yet he must own, that he could not condemn those who defended themselves against rapine and slaughter." He then animadverts severely on the papal party for concealing their " refutation." " They were ashamed of it, or afraid to let it see the light. Indeed, when read in the diet, it was heard in sad and downcast silence; the very reverse of the joy and approbation with which the confession was listened to." He quotes a speech of Eccius,

[1] The Hussites, Milner iv. 279. (259.)

A. D. 1530.

which, he says, was openly made in the hearing of the protestants;[1] "That, if the emperor, on his arrival in Germany, had acted as it had been resolved at Bologna, and, immediately proceeding by force of arms against the Lutherans, had massacred them wherever they were met with, all would have been well; but that, by hearing the elector of Saxony's chancellor, and allowing him to plead their cause, all the good plans which had been formed, were disconcerted, and every thing thrown into confusion." He adverts to some of the arts which had been practised at Augsburg; and then, "as he knows they called him 'the prophet of Germany,' he says he will assume the office, and warn the people not to take arms against the protestant princes, even though the emperor should require it; for the command would be one which he had no right to give.[2] He, however, could not apprehend such a proceeding on the part of the emperor, who had shewn great moderation and clemency in the diet, and was reported to have said, "that he could scarcely allow himself to suppose, that that doctrine was bad and impious, which was maintained by so many eminent and excellent men." He again recounts and exposes the monstrous errors and abuses of popery;[3] and concludes with repeating his earnest deprecation of forcible and warlike measures, and declaring his own ardent desire of peace and quiet.[4]

[1] "Apertè, audientibus nostris."

[2] "Injusta præciperet." It will be seen that Luther's sentiments were such as to warrant this translation.

[3] The continual repetition of such exposures was perfectly natural under existing circumstances; yet nothing could be more politic and effective. Whatever gave occasion to them was a fresh advantage afforded to the cause of the reformation.

[4] Seck. iii. 5—7.

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For this publication, Luther is charged by Cochlæus and Maimbourg with inciting the Germans to take arms against the emperor. But his object evidently was, only to deter the opposite party from aggression, not to instigate his own adherents to it.

and other publications. A. D. 1531.

He soon after published "Animadversions on the Edict of Augsburg," and a "Defence" of this and the preceding work against an anonymous censurer of them, who wrote from Dresden.[1]

In the former of these two publications, he asserts the doctrine, which he had uniformly maintained, of justification by faith alone, in the following extraordinary tone of confident defiance: "I, Doctor Martin Luther, the unworthy evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ, thus think, and thus affirm; That this article, namely, that faith alone, without works, justifies us before God, can never be overthrown, neither by the Roman emperor, nor by the Turk, nor by the Tartar, nor by the Persian, nor by the pope, with all his cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, nuns; nor by kings, and princes, and potentates; nor by all the powers of the world, and all devils. This article, whether they will or not, they shall leave to me unshaken; and shall moreover receive for their pains, not the favour of God, but the reward of hell-fire. So I, Doctor Luther, affirm under the guidance of the Holy Spirit: this is the true gospel.... Christ alone, the Son of God, has died for our sins: but, if he alone takes away our sins, all men, with all their works, are to be excluded from all concurrence (or coöperation) in procuring the pardon of sin and justification. Nor can I embrace Christ otherwise than by faith

[1] Seck. iii. 7—10.

alone:[1] he cannot be apprehended by works. But, if faith, before works follow, apprehends (lays hold on) the Redeemer, it is undoubtedly true, that faith alone, before works, and without works, appropriates (or applies to the believer) the benefit of redemption, which is no other than our justification, or deliverance from (the condemnation of) sin. Good works then follow after, as the fruit.[2]—This is our doctrine: so the Holy Spirit teaches, and the whole Christian church. In this, by the grace of God, will we stand fast. Amen."[3] A. D. 1531.

Thus Luther, in his appropriate way, did his part to fortify the minds of the people, and to support the great cause of the reformation. The princes and states also did the same in their way. They held various meetings, and formed leagues for mutual defence.

The landgrave, more impetuous than the rest, and less averse to the doctrine of the Swiss reformers respecting the sacrament,[4] as early as the month of November, 1530, entered into alliance with Zurich, Basle, and Strasburg.[5] The next month, and also in March following, he and the other protestant leaders met at Smalkald, in Upper Saxony, and laid the foundation of the famous league which took its name from that place.[6] Seven princes and twenty-four cities entered into the league.[7] The cities in general wished the Swiss to be admitted as parties to it, but the elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and others, would not agree to this, on account of League of Smalkald.

[1] "Faith is the only *hand* which putteth on Christ unto justification." Hooker. [2] Church Art. xii.
[3] Melch. Ad. in vit. Luth. 69. Seck. iii. 7.
[4] Seck. ii. 153, 154. [5] Sleid. 141.
[6] Ibid. 142, 145, 147. Seck. iii. 2. [7] Sleid. 160.

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the difference subsisting between themselves and the reformed Swiss on the subject of the sacrament;—a determination in which they were unhappily confirmed by Luther. Their objections might be partly from policy; on account of the greater degree of odium which attached to Zuinglius's doctrine on this subject.[1] They were no doubt, however, chiefly the result of a conscientious principle,[2] which demands our respect, though we must consider it as, in this point, mistaken.—On this subject Luther, at an earlier period, previously to the opening of the diet of Augsburg, made a remarkable address, in a letter to the landgrave. "O God," he says, "it is no jest to teach new dogmas! In such causes as this we must broach no uncertain opinions. Clear and decisive proofs from scripture are necessary, such as have never yet been produced. Certainly I have endured great alarms, and vast danger, for the sake of my doctrine: I would not willingly have encountered them, or be now exposed to them for nothing. I am by no means, therefore, moved to opposition by pride or prejudice. I would have received the doctrine of the Zuinglians, (God is my witness!) if they could have shewn sufficient authority for it: but my conscience cannot acquiesce in the grounds on which they rest. I trust, also, that Christ has effected by me (though but an *earthen vessel*,) what may prevent their despising me, as if I had accomplished nothing in comparison with themselves.—I commend your highness to God; who sees that I act with an upright and faithful mind. May He, the father of all afflicted souls, grant us all his grace, and illuminate us with the knowledge of his truth."[3]

[1] See above, p. 86, Note (2) [2] Sleid. 151. Seck. iii. 2 (b), 15 (6).
[3] Seck. ii. 154. Compare Milner, v. 201. (782.)

A. D. 1531.

The rejection of the Swiss alliance seems, in many points of view, to be just subject of regret: it was the "discordia fratrum"—the quarrel of brothers: but, as far as it only detracted from the strength of the confederation, we may concur in the pious sentiment of Melancthon. He regards the hand of divine providence in it, and fears that, if all had been united, confidence in their own strength might have led them to proceed with a precipitation and impetuosity unbecoming a religious reformation.[1]

The confederates further addressed letters to the kings of England, France, and Denmark. To the last of these they proposed a concurrence in their league: of the two former they chiefly asked, that they would use their influence to obtain a free general council; and also that they would not listen to the calumnies which were spread concerning the protestants: for even an imperial envoy, it appears, had represented them, not merely as moved only by a rapacious desire of possessing themselves of the property of the church, but as denying the authority of magistrates and rulers, setting the marriage institution at naught, and asserting a community of goods and of wives![2] Friendly answers were received from these monarchs;[3] and the king of France, in particular, would doubtless have been glad to secure allies within the empire. No specific assistance, however, was at this period derived from these foreign powers, except a small supply in money from the king of England.[4]

In addition to the object of mutual defence, it appears to have been proposed by the con-

[1] Seck. iii. 15.
[2] Seck. iii. 3, 14, 15, 145 (5). Sleid. 145—147.
[3] Sleid. 149—151. Seck. iii. 13, 14. [4] Robertson, iii. 56.

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tracting parties at Smalkald, that learned men, divines and lawyers, should be deputed by them, to draw up a scheme of rites and government to be observed in all the reformed churches, that they might not be exposed to the reproach of "doing every man what was right in his own eyes." The task, however, was found to be one of great delicacy, and attended with so many difficulties that the design was abandoned.[1]

On the lawfulness of resisting the Emperor.

The question here presents itself, how far it was lawful for the protestant princes and states to defend themselves, by force of arms, against their superior lord, the emperor, and the decrees of the diet. Various passages of Luther, upon this subject, have been quoted by Dr. Milner, at an earlier period of the history. Thus the reformer says to the elector Frederick, "Think not of opposing the emperor by force: permit him to do what he pleases with the lives and liberties of your subjects."[2] On the question proposed by the elector, "Whether, in case his subjects should suffer violence on account of

[1] Seck. iii. 2, 15. Compare Milner, v. 76—78. (648—651.)—This acknowledgment would be highly gratifying to a writer of the tone and temper of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. In the fourth book of his celebrated "Histoire des Variations," he has collected proofs of the defective order and discipline of the protestant churches. But even the disorders incident to liberty are preferable to the constrained uniformity produced by absolute despotism: and, much as the Christian mind will find to lament in the collections of this acute enemy of the reformation, it will still feel itself, when taking even the most unfavourable view of the Saxon churches of the sixteenth century, in the midst of a scene much more resembling that presented by the apostolic epistles, than in taking any view, at all approaching to fairness, of the Romish church of the same period. Let the confessions and lamentations of the reformers, which Bossuet has brought together, be qualified by such passages as that of Luther, addressed to the elector of Saxony, in the preceding chapter. Above, p. 65.

[2] Milner, v. 52. (623.)

their religion, either from the emperor or from any of the German princes, it was lawful for him to protect them by arms?" Luther, Melancthon, and Bugenhagius, "decided at once, that it was not;" and they assigned reasons, which, however, are either temporary or not very satisfactory.[1] Also, in an opinion quoted by Seckendorf, Luther insists that, "even if the emperor should proceed by force, contrary to his capitulation," (that is, to the engagements into which he entered on his admission to the imperial dignity,) "and thus violate the liberty promised to the princes, they yet ought not to resist him by force of arms, unless he were first by unanimous consent deposed from the imperial throne[2]—by virtue of a power which, it appears, was claimed, and had repeatedly been exercised by the electors.[3] These passages, however, do not appear to exhibit Luther's latest and most matured judgment on the question. As time advances, he somewhat relaxes, or becomes more enlightened upon it. He thinks the elector might resist any of the other princes; and, even in case the authority of the emperor were alleged, in his absence, they need not readily admit that it was alleged truly. Nay, in one place he even says, generally, If force be used, "they will then have a right to repel force by force."[4]

A. D. 1531.

On some of the passages thus cited, Seckendorf very justly remarks, that Luther assumed, that the German princes were "absolutely subjects of the emperor," as the people under a despotic government are of their monarch;—"a position which statesmen and the legal au-

[1] Milner, v. 126. (702.) [2] Seck. ii. 151.
[3] See Robertson's Charles V, i. 462.
[4] Milner, v. 454—456. (1050—1052.) See also 492—494, 557. (1091—1095, 1160.)

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thorities could never admit." "In what manner, therefore," he says, "this sentence, that they possessed no right of resistance, was afterwards relaxed or limited, the subsequent history will shew."[1] He here seems to touch precisely the core of the question. I pretend not to such an acquaintance with the constitution of the empire, as to define accurately the prerogatives of the head, and the rights of the several members, but, from what Dr. Robertson has stated in his preliminary volume, it appears, that the several princes or senates were, to a great degree, sovereigns in their respective states; that the emperor was not their absolute lord, but only the head of the confederacy formed among them for their common interest; that, on his inauguration, he entered into a solemn engagement (styled "the capitulation,") to preserve the rights and privileges of each, inviolate; and that, as it would seem, neither he alone, nor even the assembled diet, could be entitled to interfere in the religious, and other merely *internal* regulations of any state, without the consent, and much more in opposition to the sentiments, of its head.[2]—But,

[1] Seck. ii. 141; iii. 10.

[2] See Robertson's Charles V, i. 206—223, 455—469; ii. 73, 77.—Not to quote any thing relating to earlier times, the following passages occur. "At the beginning of the sixteenth century" the empire was "a complex body, formed by the association of several states, each of which possessed sovereign and independent jurisdiction within its own territories. Of all the members which composed this united body, the emperor was the head." i. 215.—"The princes and states of the empire, though they seemed to recognize the imperial authority, were subject only in name, each of them possessing a complete municipal jurisdiction, within the precincts of his own territories." 218.—"The princes and nobles, to whom supreme jurisdiction belonged, possessed a sort of monarchical power within their own territories." 220. —At this period the emperors appear "as the heads of a

besides doing this, at the period under consideration, the emperor had so far forgotten his duty, and the dignity of his station, as to enter into alliance with particular catholic princes against their protestant brethren.[1] The situation therefore of the princes and states, with respect to the emperor, appears to have differed essentially from that of individual subjects under a persecuting government, whose duty we must, on scriptural principles and from scriptural examples, conclude it to be, to confine themselves to petitions, protestations, and the intercession of more powerful friends; and, where these fail, to commit themselves to God, and patiently suffer for his sake. And on these grounds even the most conscientious of the princes became satisfied, and Luther concurred with them, that they would be justified in opposing force to force, for the defence of their own rights, and of the civil and religious liberties of their subjects, in case the emperor should attempt to execute, by arms, the edict of Augsburg.[2] A. D. 1531.

Thus we have seen Luther declaring in his Warning to the Germans, that he would "leave the question of the right of defence to the legal authorities," and that he could not "condemn those who defended themselves against rapine and slaughter."—Again he says, "It was now his fixed opinion, that it was lawful to resist

confederacy, with very limited powers." 457.—"The diet takes no cognizance of the interior administration in the different states, unless that happens to disturb or threaten the general safety." 465.—Gibbon also says, "The union of the Germans has produced, under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic." c. 49.—All this certainly goes to overthrow the authority of the decree against the reformation.

[1] Maimb. in Seck. ii. 200. and Seck. iii. 9 (20), 10 (1), 11 (4).

[2] Ib. iii. 2 (a).

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unjust force, and even the emperor himself, when he exceeded the limits of his authority. What those limits were, he, indeed, would not venture to determine: the investigation of that question belonged not to him, but to the princes."[1]—In like manner John Frederick, then become elector, in asserting the rights and liberties of the princes in reply to the duke of Brunswick, argues, "That legitimate obedience, indeed, was due to the emperor, but not absolute and despotic: and that by *legitimate* was to be understood, such as was not contrary to religion, to the laws, and to the imperial capitulation."[2]—Sleidan also expressly says, "Before the league of Smalkald was entered into, not only the lawyers, but the divines also were admitted into the consultation. It had, indeed, been always the doctrine of Luther, that magistrates ought not to be resisted: and upon this subject there was a book of his extant. But, when the learned in the law had in this consultation declared, that resistance is sometimes permitted by the laws, and had shewn, that the present state of affairs was such as the laws in relation to that case do particularly mention; Luther ingenuously confessed, that indeed he had been ignorant of this legality: but now, since the gospel, according to his constant doctrine, does not militate against, nor abolish political laws; and since things might so fall out in these perilous times, that not only the law itself, but also necessity of conscience might call upon them to arm; he therefore pronounces, that they may justly make a league in their own defence, if either the emperor himself, or any one else in his name, shall make war upon them."[3]

[1] Seck. iii. 10 (1), 9 (20). [2] Ib. iii. 11 (4).

[3] Sleid. 148. See also Seck. iii. 160; where John Frederick

Maimbourg, as was natural for him, sneers at Luther's profession of having become better informed upon this subject: "he found it," he says, "convenient to change his opinion." But sneers answer no arguments, though they often cover the lack of them, and save the trouble of investigation. A. D. 1531.

The Prussian divines, consulted by the duke Albert, in the year 1537, "after mature deliberation," unanimously came to the same conclusion with those of Saxony: and they state the grounds of it very distinctly. They observe, that Christians are "to render to God the things which belong to God, as well as to Cesar the things which belong to Cesar:" and they distinguish between persons "considered simply as Christians," and as holding certain relative and official situations, "as citizens and as princes;" and between "persons absolutely subject, and persons yielding obedience under certain restrictions and conditions."[1] The former, they state, "must not comply with commands contrary to their consciences, but they have no further right of resistance, and must bear the consequences: but, since the princes of the empire are not subject, but in a manner peculiar to themselves, and saving the authority which they possess within their own territories; and the emperor has not a jurisdiction over their subjects, except mediate" (namely through *them*,) "and in certain reserved cases; it follows, that the princes have

expressly speaks, to the ambassador of the duke of Lignitz, of Luther's former opinion as the result of haste and defective information. Justus Jonas and Bugenhagius also came to the same conclusion. Ibid. 216 (a.)

[1] "Inter merè subditos, et certis legibus et conditionibus parentes."

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a right, and are in duty bound, to defend their subjects against unjust violence."[1] Indeed I know not on what ground the contrary principle, that the emperor and the other catholic princes had a right to dictate to the protestant states; and that these were bound either to submit to their dictates, or to bear patiently such punishments as they should be pleased to inflict, can be maintained, except it be the assumption, that the church of Rome was entitled to that universal sovereignty which she claimed, and might require, and could give authority to, all faithful princes to enforce her decrees.[2]

Let not, then, all this be confounded with the case of subjects taking upon them to inquire, whether an actual law is just, before they consent to obey it: the point maintained is, that the German princes were not, in this sense, the emperor's subjects: and likewise the real question here is, not whether an existing law were just, but what the law of the case really was.

So much it seemed needful to say, upon what was to the reformers, at this period, a question

[1] Seck. iii. 146. M. Basnage, after examining this question, comes precisely to the same conclusion that I have done, and upon similar grounds:—"Il est bon de remarquer que ceux qui entrèrent dans cette ligue étoient des princes souverains....Ils traitent avec l'empereur en souverains.... M. de Meaux a dont tort de traiter les princes et les electeurs comme il feroit de simples sujets qui refuseroient l'obeïsance au magistrat."—Hist. de l'Eglise, xxv. vi. 4.

[2] Compare Seck. iii. 160 (i).—"At Rome the emperor was reprehended," on account of the pacification of Nuremberg, "for putting his sickle (as they said,) into another man's harvest; every prince being obliged, by the strictest bonds of censures, to the extirpation of those that are condemned by the pope—wherein they ought to spend their goods, estate, and life; and much more are the emperors thus bound, because they do solemnly swear unto it." F. Paul, 59.

of deep and painful interest: and I have thought it due to those illustrious characters thus, as I hope, to demonstrate that they were liable to no imputation of treason or rebellion, in determining, if actually attacked, to defend the civil and religious rights of themselves and their subjects by force of arms. To this strict line of defence against actual violence all the leading parties, with one exception, confined their measures. The landgrave, as on a former occasion,[1] was not content with this: he would have begun the attack; and some few of the cities seconded him: but his counsel was justly rejected and condemned by all the rest.[2] A. D. 1531.

The *expediency* of the course adopted by the protestant powers is another question. There can be no doubt, that their league, combining with the peculiar circumstances of the times, held the emperor in check, and formed the great obstacle to his ambitious designs with respect to Germany, for many years; and thus served to protect the reformation to the very end of Luther's life: but then it was, at the same time, and for this very reason, in a high degree galling to Charles's proud and aspiring spirit, and tended to irritate the severity of his proceedings when he did succeed in crushing the confederation, and, as he vainly imagined, had finally triumphed over the protestant cause.

Circumstances of the Emperor.

But it pleased providence for the present to relieve the protestants from their apprehensions in an unexpected manner. The emperor was by no means prepared to engage in a civil war. That with the Turks was of itself sufficiently urgent. They had again invaded Hungary

[1] Milner, v. 453, 493. (1050, 1092.) [2] Seck. iii. 3, 13.

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with an immense army, and for the avowed purpose of dethroning Ferdinand, and advancing another person in his place: and the protestants, before the late diet separated, had declared, that they could neither furnish any aid against the Turks, unless they were themselves protected, and peace secured within the empire, nor contribute to the expences of the imperial chamber, unless they were placed on the same footing as the other states, with respect to that court. Contrary also to their solemn protestations, as well as to those of some of the catholic princes, Charles had lately procured his brother to be elected king of the Romans, and his successor in the empire: which was considered as a step towards establishing hereditary and absolute authority, repugnant to the constitution, and subversive of the liberties of Germany.—On all these grounds he was desirous of conciliation, and readily listened to the proposals of the archbishop of Mentz, and Lewis, elector palatine, who offered to mediate between him and the protestants. By this means, after many difficulties and protracted conferences, a pacific arrangement was at length effected, on terms highly advantageous to the protestants. This pacification called, from the place where it was agreed upon, the Pacification of Nuremberg, was settled in that city in the month of July, 1532, and solemnly ratified, the month following, in the imperial diet held at Ratisbon.[1]

Pacification of Nuremberg.

A. D. 1532.

"In this treaty it was stipulated, That universal peace be established in Germany, until the meeting of a general council,—the convocation of which within six months the emperor

[1] Sleid. 151—161. Seck. iii. 15, 16, 19—24.

shall endeavour to procure; that no person shall be molested on account of religion; that a stop shall be put to all processes begun by the imperial chamber against protestants, and the sentences already passed to their detriment shall be declared void. On their part, the protestants engaged to assist the emperor with all their forces in resisting the invasion of the Turks. Thus," says the historian whose words I am here using, "by their firmness in adhering to their principles, by the unanimity with which they urged all their claims, and by their dexterity in availing themselves of the emperor's situation, the protestants obtained terms which amounted almost to a toleration of their religion; all the concessions were made by Charles, none by them; even the favourite point of their approving his brother's election was not mentioned; and the protestants of Germany, who had hitherto been viewed only as a religious sect, came henceforth to be considered as a political body of no small consequence."[1] A. D. 1532.

How far their attainment of political consequence was conducive to the interests of genuine religion among them, or how far, on the contrary, it was prejudicial, and required some powerful counterpoise, may furnish matter for grave and serious consideration: but one cannot forbear rejoicing in their present deliverance, and in the triumph of a righteous cause.

Scultetus here very properly calls us to admire the providence of God, which made the Turkish sultan the great instrument of annulling, or at least suspending the execution of the decree of Augsburg against the reformation.[2]

It was the anxious desire of Luther, that no

[1] Robertson, iii. 57, 58. [2] Annales, 172.

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impediments should be thrown in the way of this pacification. He earnestly exhorted the elector rather to abandon his opposition to the appointment of Ferdinand as king of the Romans, than at all risque its failure: nor was he willing so to insist on comprehending within its terms all who might subsequently join the protestants, as to delay its settlement. In another stipulation of the emperor's he heartily concurred, that they should disclaim all connexion with those who held the doctrine of Zuinglius concerning the eucharist.[1] On the point of providing for such as should afterwards accede to the protestant principles, rather a warm difference arose. The landgrave, in particular, and his divines opposed Luther's views; which were not fully approved by John Frederick, Pontanus, and others of his friends; and Seckendorf seems to think that subsequent events justified their sentiments.[2]

Maimbourg affects to regard this pacification as a mere provisional measure:[3] and such it might really be, as extending only to the time of holding a general council, or some assembly of the empire, authorized to decide upon the questions at issue: but Pallavicini gives us to understand, that it was considered as provisional in another sense, namely, as made only to meet the present exigencies, and intended to be rescinded when circumstances should permit. He says, the emperor told the pope, that, "if the difficulties of the times were got over, the protestants might be compelled to observe the former edicts, (of Worms and Augsburg,) which were not dead, but only slept."[4] Such was the bad faith, that either existed in the emperor's

[1] Seck. iii. 17, 21.
[2] Ibid. iii. 21—24.
[3] In Seck. iii. 19.
[4] Seck. iii. 25.

counsels, or was pretended by him, to satisfy the pope, or was feigned by the court of Rome to meet its own wishes. A. D. 1532.

Respecting the proceedings of the imperial chamber against the protestants, which rather should have been stopped by the pacification, than actually were so, we may insert the following brief statement from Father Paul.— "The emperor's decree (that of Augsburg) being known throughout all Germany, they began immediately to accuse the professors of the new religion in the imperial chamber; some from zeal, others from revenge, and some also that they might possess the goods of their adversaries. Many sentences were passed, many declarations, and many confiscations, against princes, cities, and private persons; but none took effect, except some against private individuals whose goods were within the territories of catholics. By others the sentences were contemned; with great diminution of the honour, not only of the chamber, but of the emperor also, who soon perceived that the remedy was not fitted to the malady, which increased daily." [1] The Imperial Chamber.

After this pacification the protestants, in testimony of their gratitude to the emperor, exerted themselves with extraordinary zeal to support him in the war against the Turks; and, the other states vying with them, such an army was raised as Germany had seldom seen. Charles, putting himself, for the first time, at the head of his troops, marched in person against Solyman. Each of them, however, dreading the power and good fortune of the other, they conducted themselves with such The Turkish War.

[1] F. Paul, 56.

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caution that no advantage could be gained on either side, and the campaign afforded no memorable event. At its close, Solyman marched back to Constantinople: and it is remarked, that for Charles, "in his first essay in arms, to have opposed such a leader was no small honour; to have obliged him to retreat, merited very considerable praise."[1] This, however, belongs to secular history.

The Pope disgusted.

Immediately after the retreat of the Turks, the emperor, impatient to revisit Spain, set out for Italy, on his way thither; and again met the pope at Bologna, being seriously intent upon procuring such a general council as might satisfy the Germans. The whole of Charles's conduct, however, had given no satisfaction to the pope. Clement "was touched," Father Paul observes, "with an inward grief of mind, discovering that, though Charles had received his counsel, by availing himself of his authority and threatening violence, yet he had not proceeded as advocate of the church of Rome,[2] unto whom it belongeth not to take knowledge of the cause, but to be a mere executor of the pope's decrees; whereunto it was quite contrary to have received the confessions, and caused them to be read, and to have instituted a conference to settle the differences. He complained beyond measure, that some points were agreed unto, and especially that Charles had consented to the abolition of some rites; thinking that the pope's authority was violated, when things of so great moment were treated of without his privity.....But the promising of a council, which he so much abhorred, pressed

[1] Robertson, iii. 59.

[2] The office which he had engaged to sustain at his coronation.

him above all; in which, though honourable mention was made of his authority, yet to prescribe six months to call it, and a year (more) to begin it, was to meddle with that which was proper to the pope, and to make the emperor the principal, and the pope his minister. By the observation of these beginnings he concluded, that there was little hope in the affairs of Germany, and that it behoved him to think of a preventive, that the disease might not pass to other parts of the body of the church. Because, however, that which was past could not be undone, he thought it not wisdom to shew that it was done against his will; but to make himself the author of it, that he might receive a less blow in his reputation. Therefore he gave an account of what had passed to all kings and princes, despatching his letters on the first of December, (1530,) all of the same tenour." In these letters he avowed himself convinced, that no remedy remained but a general and free council, in which therefore he invited them to assist in person or by their ambassadors. "Yet few were deceived: for it was not hard to discover, that to desire princes to send ambassadors to a council, whereof neither time, nor place, nor manner was resolved on, was but the affectation of zeal and despatch, not the reality."[1]

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If the proceedings at Augsburg were so displeasing to the pope, much more so must have been the emperor's subsequent measures of conciliation and concession to the protestants, and his more solemn engagement entered into to procure a council. In fact the mind of Clement was now alienated from the emperor,

[1] F. Paul, 54, 55.

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and he henceforward courted the alliance of the king of France; who flattered his vanity, and pursued his own designs, by allowing his second son Henry to marry one of the pope's family, the celebrated Catharine de Medicis.[1]

Observation of F. Paul.

While Charles's conduct was thus regarded at Rome as a portentous deviation from the duty of a good son of the church, such as "gave cause to fear a sudden revenge from heaven," it was differently thought of by more impartial persons. They commended his piety and wisdom in endeavouring to unite all parties against the Turk, the common enemy of Christendom; and remarked, "That the maxim, so renowned at Rome, 'That it was more meet to persecute heretics than infidels,' was well fitted for the pope's dominion, but not to the general benefit of the Christian world." The observation of Father Paul here is remarkable: "The times following have taught, and will teach perpetually, that the emperor's resolution was conformable to the laws of God and man. For the case was, whether every Christian country ought to be governed according to its own necessity and profit, or whether it was a slave to one only city, to advance the interests of which all others should spend themselves, and become desolate."[2]

The proposed Council.

With respect to the council, the pope still continued to affect great zeal for it, so much so as to send a nuncio, with an ambassador

[1] For all the contemporary secular transactions, the reader cannot do better than consult Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. —In 1532, Cranmer (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) came on an embassy to the elector of Saxony: but his mission related to secular affairs only; and, as it was subsequent to the pacification, it had no important result. Seck. iii. 40, 41.

[2] F. Paul. 59, 60.

from the emperor, into Germany, to make arrangements preparatory to it with the protestants: but he would never agree to hold it on any other terms, than those "which he knew would not be accepted:"[1] such as, that it should be called by the authority of the pope alone; that it should be held in Italy; (where it would be under his control;) and that the protestants should bind themselves to submit to its decisions, even before it was settled by what rule they were to be formed—whether by that of scripture alone, or by human in common with divine authority; and that none should have votes but those to whom the papal usages allowed them. In short, he would agree to no council at all but what should be guided by his own will.—The cardinals more openly urged that none was necessary; for "a council," said they, "could not choose but approve what Leo X. had determined, except it would become a conventicle, or unlawful assembly, as all those were which had separated themselves from the doctrine and obedience of the pope."[2] A. D. 1532.

We now turn to a different class of subjects, more edifying, and on that account more interesting, to the pious mind; though the interest excited must, with respect to some of them, be tinged with regret.

The church of Christ was about this time deprived of three eminent persons, who had rendered the greatest services to the reformation. Some notice of the latter end of each

[1] F. Paul, 57. Sleid. 162—166. [2] F. Paul. 58.

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cannot fail to be acceptable, though two of them belonged not immediately to that branch of the church, of which we profess, at present, to detail the history.

Death of Zuinglius:

The first of these was Zuinglius, the Swiss reformer. He, as is well known, lost his life in a battle fought between the troops of Zurich and Berne, on the one side, and those of the catholic cantons, on the other. Zuinglius's accompanying the troops, not as an officer, but as a pastor or chaplain, was in conformity with the custom of his country, and the call expressly made upon him by the senate.[1] He had disapproved the proceedings of his countrymen which led to the conflict; so much so as to have proposed to quit Zurich; and he seems to have gone out with the army, in some hope of effecting a reconciliation between the parties: but the engagement was brought on suddenly, and the reformed suffered a defeat. Thrice he was thrown down, and as often recovered himself; but at length he received a wound in the throat, from a spear, which he supposed mortal; when, sinking down on his knees, he exclaimed, in the spirit of a true Christian hero, "Is this to be esteemed a calamity? They can kill the body, but the soul they cannot touch." When the soldiers came to strip the slain, he was found yet alive, lying on his back, with his hands clasped together, and his eyes lifted up to heaven. He was asked

[1] "In Helvetiis non est novum, ut cum signis præcipuis egrediantur etiam primi sacerdotes, etiam armati. Non egressus est autem Frater noster ut dux militiæ, sed ut civis bonus, et pastor optimus, non detrectans mori cum suis.... Nec egressus est sponte: deprecantem uti liceat aliquantisper domi manere, non exaudiit senatus." Œcolampadius, 8 Nov. 1531, in Œcolamp. and Zuingl. Epist. Basil. 1536.

A. D. 1531.

if he wished a confessor to be sent for; then, if he would invoke the Virgin: and, on his declining both, he was instantly despatched. When the body was discovered to be that of Zuinglius, it was condemned by a military tribunal to be cut in quarters, and then burned to ashes: which barbarous but impotent sentence, with other indignities, was accordingly carried into execution.—Some days before the expedition, while a general agitation prevailed, he had said publicly, "I know to what all this tends, as far as I am concerned: it is to remove me from the world."

Scultetus observes, that the defeat was ascribed to treachery by such as regarded only second causes, but that they who looked higher thought, that the reformed Swiss had become much too self-confident, and needed to be humbled. Even Œcolampadius seems to have relied unduly on "the power of the cities engaged in the support of the evangelical cause;" and he is thought to have alluded to what he had said on that subject, when he wrote to his friends at Ulm, after the defeat, in these words: —"It is not the least advantage which we derive, that our minds are humbled, and we are taught to rely, not on an arm of flesh, but on the living God." Musculus also anticipates like chastisement, and for like causes, to the German protestants. Writing from Augsburg to Berne, a few days after this defeat of the Swiss, he says: "The Swiss have sinned in letting out their troops for hire for any wars which call for them,[1] even the most impious ones. This is acknowledged by good men: but how small is the number of those who re-

[1] Robertson ii. 189.

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pent of the sin! But, if it were the good pleasure of God to visit for this offence, with whom should he begin, rather than, as his practice is, with his own people?[1]—Germany also, which is stored with the spoils of many nations, must learn the truth of the prophet's words, *Wo to thee that spoilest! shalt not thou also be spoiled?*.... What will follow? If the Lord shall chastise Germany, as I doubt not he will, who, think you, shall first feel the lash? Our people (the protestants) continually boast of the power of the princes, and cities, and I know not what, that support their cause; but, how displeasing to God this is, religious minds well know.... The impiety and vice of the papists are indeed enormous, and they will, no doubt, feel the avenging hand of God: but we also have been guilty, and continue to be guilty, of things which call for divine chastisement; and we do not repent of them in the manner those ought to do, who have known divine truth, and experienced the goodness of God."[2]—So soon does man, even man not altogether a stranger to the influence of God's Spirit, go astray! So much, especially does he need to be admonished, and by a voice louder than that of words alone, to "walk humbly with his God;" "not to be high-minded but fear!" We shall find but too much to confirm these representations of Musculus's concerning the Germans; and, though chastisement was for some time delayed, yet his anticipations respecting it proved ere long to be almost prophetically correct.

The death of Zuinglius took place on the

[1] 1 Pet. iv. 17.

[2] Scultet. 172—174. Melch. Ad. in Vit. Zuingl. 17, 18.

eleventh of October, 1531, in the forty-fourth year of his age; and it was followed on the first of December by that of his intimate friend and fellow-labourer Œcolampadius of Basle, who was only five years older. His end was supposed to be hastened by grief for the loss which he himself, and the churches at large, had sustained by the death of Zuinglius. He was an eminently learned and peaceable, yet zealous and highly useful character, and the chief instrument of the reformation at Basle. In a letter written to some ministers at Ulm, three weeks after the death of his friend, he expresses how much he was affected by that event: but, he says, "I well know the faith which those men" (Zuinglius and some others who had fallen with him,) "reposed in God; so that no ill could befal them: but, when I think of the false statements, and wrong inferences, with which the minds of the simple are assailed, and which cannot be counteracted, this afflicts me most deeply."—He was fifteen days confined to his bed; during which time he constantly pronounced that his disease would prove mortal, and "with his whole soul longed for his transition to the light of heaven." "He waited not for consolation from others, but administered it to all who approached him." He made no will, having nothing to leave; though his parents had been people of good substance; but, addressing his three children by name, (who, however, were too young to understand him,) he bade them "love God as their father:" and, turning to his wife, and her mother, and other relations, "conjured them to train up his children in piety, peaceableness, and integrity."

A. D. 1531. and of Œcolampadius.

But the best memorial we have of his closing scene is his address to his brother-ministers,

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and the elders of the church. "Ye see," said he, "that the Lord is at hand, and just about to remove me from you. I wished, therefore, to call you together, and to satisfy my soul, with my beloved brethren, in true joy and consolation in the Lord. What then shall I say to you in this my last farewel, ye servants of Christ, united with me in the same love to our common lord, the same pursuit, the same doctrine?—Salvation is procured for us by Christ: to him we owe our confidence of attaining the kingdom of God, the sure instruction we enjoy, and clear light for our feet. All sadness, all fear of life or death, all doubt and wavering ought to be far removed from us. This only remains, that, as we long ago commenced, so should we go on constantly and faithfully to tread in Christ's steps; first in unsullied purity of doctrine, and next in a life in all things conformed to the living word of God. As to the rest, the Lord Christ, who is mighty and ever watchful, will defend his church. Well then, brethren, let our light so shine before men that God our Father may be glorified in us. Let the name of Christ be rendered illustrious by your life and conversation: live in love one with another: pass your whole lives as in the sight of God. In vain is piety inculcated by words only: the light of a holy life, a heavenly temper of mind, is necessary, if we would confound Satan, and be the instruments of converting the world to God.—Oh, brethren, what clouds arise, what storms gather; what estrangement of men's minds do we perceive; what ungodliness abounds! But stand fast, and endure to the end. God himself will be your ever-present helper. Oh that I could encounter dangers with you, and again and again pour out my

life for the truth! But (I may say,) this is allowed me: for our love is inseparable, our union in Christ indissoluble; the righteous have all things in common."—Then, referring more especially to himself, he said: "The charge of corrupting the truth, which is brought against me, troubles me not at all: through the grace of God, I pass to the tribunal of Christ with a pure conscience in that respect: there it will be clear that the church has not been seduced by us. I leave you all witnesses of this my protestation, and confirm it with my dying breath."—His brethren then gave him their hands as a pledge that they would undertake the charge of the church, and exert themselves to fulfil his wishes.—He asked a friend who came in, What news he brought? On being answered, None, he said, "But I have news for you—I shall soon be with the Lord Christ." When some about him disconsolately inquired, What light could be shed upon their present darkness? touching his breast, he said, "There is abundance of light within."—He repeated the whole fifty-first Psalm, dwelling particularly on the petitions for the forgiveness of sins. He then, after a short pause, ejaculated the prayer, "Save me, O Christ Jesus!" and "yielded up his spirit to God, with such calmness, and such sure confidence in Christ, as filled all present with joy and gratitude, which they expressed with bended knees, and uplifted hands, around his bed."—He was buried in the cathedral of Basle, all the magistracy of the city attending his funeral. [1] A.D. 1531.

On a death so truly worthy of a Christian

[1] Scultet. 174, 175. Melch. Ad. in Vit. Œcolamp. 26, 27.

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and a minister no reflections can be needed. The whole scene must speak to every heart.

Joy of the Catholics.

The death of these two eminent men in the prime of life, and in the midst of their usefulness, gave great encouragement to the enemies of the reformation. "The catholics attributed the death both of one and the other to the providence of God, who, compassionating the Helvetians, had punished and taken away the authors of their discord;" and "assured themselves that the man being removed, (Zuinglius,) who by his preaching had changed religion in the country, all would return to the ancient faith."—This is the statement of Father Paul, whose reflection on the occasion is excellent. "Surely," he says, "it is a pious and religious thought, to attribute the disposal of every event to the providence of God: but to determine to what end those events are directed by that high wisdom, is not far from presumption. Men are so straitly and religiously wedded to their own opinions, that they are persuaded God loveth and favoureth their tenets as much as themselves do. But the things that happened afterwards shewed, that the cantons called Gospellers made greater progress in the doctrine received, after the death of these two men, than before;—a manifest argument that it came from a higher source than the labours of Zuinglius."[1]

Remark of F. Paul.

[1] F. Paul, 56, 57. That so determined a papist as Sir Thomas More should say of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius, "Quorum nunciata mors mihi lætitiam attulit," need not perhaps excite surprise; but that Erasmus should write, "*Bene habet*, quod duo coriphæi perierunt, Zuinglius in acie, Œcolampadius, paulo post febri et aposthemate. Quod si illis favisset ἐνυάλιος, actum erat de nobis"—this may move our indignation. Erasm. Ep. xxx. 56.

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I regret to say, that the censure here conveyed applies not only to the enemies of the reformation, but even to many of the followers of Luther, and in some degree to Luther himself; for he abstained not altogether from harsh and uncharitable remarks on the removal of these two persons, who had differed from him on the subject of the sacrament.[1]—There seemed, however, great likelihood that he would himself follow his deceased brethren, only the month after. He was seized with violent and very dangerous illness, and his physicians pronounced him on the verge of apoplexy. But something of that extraordinary

Illness of Luther. Jan. 1532.

[1] Scult. 174. Seck. iii. 17, 62 (4).—Subsequently, however, Luther wrote to Bullinger, that, after he had met Zuinglius at Marpurg, he "thought him an excellent man; and that he had the same opinion of Œcolampadius: and that he therefore greatly lamented their death." Yet he much disapproved some things of Zuinglius's which Bullinger published with applause. Luth. Ep. Strobel. No. 167.—Particularly he condemned those sentiments which are quoted from the Swiss reformer by Dr. Milner, v. 525. (1126.)

It appears to have been characteristic of Luther, to give always a strong utterance to his present feelings concerning any person, and in that particular view which he was then taking of his character or conduct; without expressing that limitation of his sentiments, which certainly existed in his own mind, or that compensating view which he perhaps had of other parts of the same character. This will often, to the reader who does not allow for the circumstance, give the appearance of inconsistency in the sentiments which he at different times expresses.

It is lamentable to see the length to which prejudice may be carried among good men embarked in a common cause; and seldom is it carried further than when their difference is but upon a minor point. "Things came to such a pass," says Scultetus, "that numbers" (meaning of those who had embraced the reformation,) "could not endure the names of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius, regarding them as most pestilent heretics; and whatever proceeded from them they condemned unread, unheard, and unseen."

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kind, which pervaded his history, marked his conduct on this occasion. Hearing those about him (among whom were Melancthon and Rorarius,) remark, what triumph it would occasion to the papists, should he too be taken off at that period, he roused himself, and said with a daring confidence, "But I shall not die now: that I know for certain. God will not confirm the papal abominations by my death at this time. He will not give to them that additional occasion of boasting. Satan, indeed, would willingly kill me if he could: he hourly besets my steps: but not what he wills, but what the Lord wills, shall be done."[1]

Death of the Elector of Saxony. Aug. 16, 1532.

The other illustrious person, whose death we mentioned as occurring at this period, was the excellent elector of Saxony, John surnamed the Constant. He survived the decree of the diet, confirming the pacification of Nuremberg, only thirteen days. For some time past he had been in an infirm state of health, but had in a measure rallied again, when he was suddenly seized with apoplexy, and died, before his sons or any other of his relations could come to him, at a hunting seat in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg. Luther and Melancthon were sent for, but they found him in the article of death.[2] His firm principle and excellent character have sufficiently appeared in this history. Luther said of him, that "with him probity expired, as with his brother, Frederick, wisdom had done:" a mode of expression which sufficiently limits itself, while it strongly marks the distinguishing

[1] Seck. iii. 38.

[2] Andreas Misenus writes, at the time, that he just recognized Luther, and pressed his hand, "to signify that he died steadfast in the faith of Christ." Strobelius in Camerar. Vit. Melanc. § 44. (p.)

virtue of the respective characters.—He was affectionately attached to Luther; and the year before his death, when Luther was dangerously ill, he visited him, and among other things said to him, "I beg you will not be anxious about your wife and children, in case God should call you hence: I will consider them as entrusted to me, and will take care of them as my own."—He took such delight in the holy scriptures, that he would frequently have them read to him, by youths of noble families, as much as six hours in the day; an exercise which, with such an example before their eyes, must have tended as much to the benefit of his youthful readers as to his own. He was accustomed also to take down the sermons which he heard with the greatest accuracy. Such habits, for one in his rank of life, and involved in so much important business, seem to carry us back to the days of David or of Daniel, and shew what may and will be done when the heart is thoroughly engaged.—His deadness to the world also was very admirable. When he was informed of the rebellion of the rustics, which led to so afflictive a war in Germany, he said: "If it be the will of God that I should continue a prince, as I have hitherto been, his will be done: but, if otherwise, I can descend to a lower station: fewer horses and a humbler equipage will serve me very well."—Luther preached and published two sermons on his death, from 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14, shedding many tears while he delivered them. In the former of them he says: "We give thanks to God who comprehended our beloved prince in the benefit and influence of the death and resurrection of Christ. You know what risque, even of life itself, he encountered at Augsburg.—I will not commend

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(1525.)

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him for his virtues, though they were great: I acknowledge that he was a sinner, and needed the remission of sins. I do not therefore set him forth as perfect. Yet was he an excellent and most kind man, free from all guile, and one in whom I could never trace pride, anger, or envy. He was ready to forgive: nay, mild and gentle even to excess.—If he sometimes erred in his government, it is not to be wondered at; for princes are but men, and we may say, that ten devils beset them, for one that assaults a private person."[1]

Such appear to be the authentic accounts of the closing scenes of these distinguished personages. Not one of them, however, has escaped the malignant aspersions of his enemies, with respect even to the article of death. The circumstance of Zuinglius's falling in battle is that which has been urged against him: but of this the narrative itself has furnished a sufficient explanation.—Œcolampadius was said to have died in despair: but it was only by persons at a distance; and the fiction seems to have been as much as possible the reverse of the truth. It probably had no shadow of support, beyond what his grief for the death of Zuinglius might furnish.—As to the elector, he was reported at the emperor's court to have renounced, in his last moments, the errors in which he had lived, and to have enjoined his son and successor, John Frederick, to restore the ancient religion! To procure credit to this story, recourse appears to have been had to deliberate forgery. But it is sufficient just to have mentioned these idle tales, and to refer the reader to the places where their exposure may be found.[2]

[1] Seck. iii. 30—32.

[2] Melch. Ad. in vit. Œcol. 27. Seck. iii. 31, 32. Camerar. Vit. Melanc. 137.

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Happily the reformation lost no ground by the death of John. "The new elector, no less attached than his" father "to the opinions of Luther, occupied the station which he had held at the head of the protestant party, and defended, with the boldness and zeal of youth, that cause which" John "had fostered and supported with the caution of more advanced age."[1] John Frederick has already appeared in this history, acting almost as the associate of his father in all his important affairs, and displaying the firmness and piety which never forsook him in the trying circumstances through which he was afterwards called to pass.

Progress of the Reformation.

We may avail ourselves of this period of comparative repose to the German church, to glance at the progress which the reformation was making more generally. Many such accounts might be collected as are given in different parts of dean Milner's last volume:[2] but, as they would for the most part want that degree of particularity which might make them interesting, it may suffice to say, that the reformation was continually spreading and advancing itself in Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of the continent. About this time also appeared Tindal's translation of the Bible into English; and our own country was casting off the papal

[1] Robertson iii. 59, 60. I have limited to the elector John some expressions which the historian had extended equally to his brother Frederick the Wise. Frederick's protection of the reformation was highly valuable, but it never amounted to such direct and avowed patronage as to constitute him "the head of the protestant party."

[2] Milner, v. 129—159, 176—190, 377—381, 467—471. (705—738, 756—771, 970—974, 1064—1068.)

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yoke. But the account of that important event, and of the establishment of the English protestant church, will form a distinct branch of this history, should it be permitted to be continued. In this country likewise, and in France,[1] Belgium, the dominions of duke George of Saxony, and in other places, many now suffered for the truth: while to others of their brethren their sufferings furnished illustrious opportunities of exercising their Christian charity. This was particularly the case at Strasburg. The duke of Lorraine had proscribed several thousands of his subjects, at a time of great scarcity: and they were in consequence compelled, in their wanderings, to subsist on such fruits and herbs as grew wild in the fields. The divines of Strasburg took compassion on these poor people, and ceased not to importune the senate to receive them into the city, and support them till they could be otherwise disposed of. And accordingly Hedio relates that, in one quarter of the year 1529, two thousand, one hundred, and fifty persons were received and taken care of, with great labour to the faithful, and no small danger from contagious diseases. From midsummer 1530 to the same period in

[1] At Limoges, one John Cadurcus, (du Quercy,) a licentiate in law, having been condemned to the stake, the monk who had been appointed to preach, as was customary on such occasions, gave out for his text, 1 Tim. iv. 1: "In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils." Cadurcus, on hearing this, cried out, 'Go on to the next words—the words immediately following!' On which the monk stood confounded, and the condemned man proceeded,—"If you do not go on, I will: it follows: "Speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats:"' and he then enlarged on the words to the assembled multitude.—He afterwards suffered death with constancy.—Scultet. 182.

1531, no less (if there is no clerical error in the number) than one hundred and twenty three thousand, five hundred, and forty-five strangers were received at the hospital for the poor; and, in the next year, eight thousand, five hundred, and seventy-nine were received and fed.[1] If only a moderate proportion of these multitudes be supposed to have been fugitives for conscience' sake, and if the two systems of religion are to be "known by their fruits," we shall be at no loss to decide between that which created and that which relieved so much distress. A. D. 1532.

The name of Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, as a supporter of the protestant cause, has already occurred to our notice. The accounts of him and of the associate princes, his cousins, John, George, and Joachim, are highly satisfactory. The Princes of Anhalt.

Wolfgang had visited the Saxon court soon after the commencement of Luther's opposition to the corruptions of the church of Rome; and, being convinced of the truth of his doctrines, had invited him to preach them at Zerbst, in 1522. He was one of those who subscribed the confession of Augsburg in 1530, and again in 1561.

George was an ecclesiastic of exalted and most exemplary character, who will deserve a particular notice in a subsequent part of this history. He earnestly recommended to his brothers, John and Joachim, that, "abandoning the figments of men, they should delight themselves in the word of God alone." By his advice, they sent to Wittemberg for a faithful protestant minister to be settled at Dessau. Nicholas Hausman, a frequent correspondent of Luther's, who had been removed from Zwickau, in a manner by no means creditable to the

[1] Scultet. 169.

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senate and people of that place,[1] was the person recommended to him. Melancthon spoke of him as "a man free from private aims, a lover of peace, conversant in that kind of instruction by which the blessings derived from Christ may be best set forth, and true piety cherished in the minds of men."[2]

Joachim II. of Brandenburg. 1532.

Amongst the accessions to the protestant cause, we have to reckon that of Joachim, son and successor of the elector of Brandenburg, of the same name, who shewed so much hostility at Augsburg. He began about this time to manifest his attachment to Luther and the reformation.[3] But to him also our attention will be more particularly called at a future period.

The Marquis of Baden.

Philip marquis of Baden presented an opposite example. He had allowed in his dominions the preaching of the reformed doctrine, and even appointed preachers of it; but this year he turned back to popery, and expelled the protestant ministers. Suebelius, a pious protestant divine, it would seem, had suspected him of backsliding, and exhorted him "not to look back to Egypt," telling him that "the devil did not keep holiday," but was ever watchful to seduce him. Bucer wrote concerning him, when some of the expelled ministers resorted to Strasburg—"Some think that the emperor's presence is the cause of the change; but I fear he has determined to disencumber himself and his people of the gospel altogether."[4]

Austria.

The following anecdote, in which Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, is concerned, may not

[1] Luth. Epist. Buddei, No. 85, 186, 191, 193—195. Strobel. 114, 115, 117, 121.

[2] Scult. 178, 179. See also Milner, v. 23. (592.)

[3] Seck. iii. 40. [4] Scult. 182.

be unworthy of insertion. Having been about this time unfortunate in his operations against the Turks, he is reported to have said to his counsellors, "I wonder how it is, that all my undertakings fail." One of them, an Austrian by birth, replied, "That happens to you, Sir, which has ever happened to kings and emperors: they that shed human blood, and connive at sin, have always enemies raised up to them by the divine judgment, such as they cannot resist. Expect therefore no better success, till you desist from your opposition to religion."[1] Thus, even in the councils of the royal and imperial supporters of the papal tyranny, there were not wanting persons to raise their voice in behalf of God and his truth. A. D. 1532.

This year (1532) I find the first mention of two eminent men, in a connexion which does them great honour. "In France three distinct fountains were opened from which the blessed waters of the heavenly doctrine might be drawn; namely at Toulouse, Orleans, and Bourges.—At the first of these places *Julius Cesar Scaliger* caused Christ to be known: and not only the city of Agen, where he resided, but a great part of Guienne and Gascony, owed to him the restoration of true religion, through the means of pious men who resorted to his house."[2] Again: "At Orleans and Bourges some had already tasted of the heavenly doctrine; but *John Calvin*, having come, at twenty-three years of age, to study the law at these places, under Peter de Stellâ (de l'Etoile) and Andrew Alciat, and combining with this study the pursuit of divine knowledge, the minds of many were by J. C. Scaliger, and Calvin.

[1] Scult. 183.

[2] Bezæ Icones, a book of Portraits and Emblems, with brief Notices, published by Beza, Gen. 1580.

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his means confirmed and excited."[1]—He studied Greek also at Bourges under Melchior Wolmar, who was secretly a Lutheran.[2]

The Waldenses.

But the principal documents, which I shall adduce under the present miscellaneous head, are two relating to a people who must always be the objects of regard to protestants, and who have formerly excited, and are at this very time beginning anew to excite, a peculiar interest in this country.[3] I refer to the Waldenses.[4] It is well known that this people, in the valleys of Piemont, and thence dispersed in various other places, had maintained, at least from the time of Claudius of Turin, in the ninth century, a faithful and suffering testimony against the errors and the tyranny of Rome. To such a people the kindling up of the light of the reformation must indeed have been a cheering and auspicious event. Nor do they appear to have viewed it with any other feelings than those of joy and thankfulness, though the new reformers so soon and so much outstripped them in knowledge and celebrity, and, in fact, at first looked upon them with prejudice.[5]—In the year 1530, a deputation from that portion of the Waldenses, who were settled in Provence and the neighbouring parts of France, visited Berne, Basle, and Strasburg, for the purpose of conferring in those cities with Haller, Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Capito. The deputies were George Maurel, one of their ministers, and

[1] Scult. 180. [2] Melch. Adam.

[3] See Mr. Gilly's "Narrative of Researches among the Waldenses:" 1825.

[4] See Milner iii. 437—511. (474—554.) Mr. Gilly attests the correctness of Mr. Milner's account of this people, in contradistinction to that given by Mosheim.

[5] Seck. iii. 62.

Peter Latomus.[1] The design of their mission may best be learned from a written communication made by Maurel to Œcolampadius, which beautifully exhibits (as Scultetus expresses it,) "the pious simplicity and simple piety" of the people. I shall give a pretty copious abstract both of this paper and of Œcolampadius's reply, as I have found repeated allusions made to this correspondence, but no where such full notice taken of it as it appears to deserve.[2]—Thus Maurel addresses Œcolampadius. A. D. 1530.

Their Address to Œcolampadius.

"Hail, blessed Œcolampadius! Having heard from many quarters, that He, who can do all things, has endued you with the blessing of his Spirit, (as may easily be known from its fruits,) we have come, with ardent joy, from a distant country, hoping, and firmly confiding, that the same Spirit will, by your means, enlighten us, and unfold many things, which hitherto, through our ignorance and dulness, appear doubtful, or are altogether unknown to us; and that, I much fear, to the great injury of ourselves, and of the people who are placed under such incompetent teachers.—That you may understand the case, we inform you, that, such as we are, we are the instructors of a poor and feeble people, who, for more than four hundred years past, nay, as is often said amongst ourselves, from the very time of the apostles, have dwelt among

[1] Mr. Jones, in his History of the Waldenses, calls them Morel and Burgoigne. I take *Burgundus* to designate the *country* of Latomus, as *Delphinæus* ("of Dauphiné") does that of Maurel. Perrin, in his "Luther's Forerunners," calls Latomus *Masson*, or *Masçon*.

[2] Mr. Jones indeed professes to give Œcolampadius's letter "at length:" but what he has given is only a very small portion of it as it exists in Scultetus.

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the thorns, yet (as pious persons have readily perceived,) have not been left without the special favour of Christ; through which, though we have often been pierced and tortured, we have still been delivered. In order, therefore, that you may advise and strengthen us poor people, (for a brother assisted by a brother is like a strong tower,) hear, if you please, our customs, and the order observed amongst us who are ministers."

He then describes the admission of those who were candidates for the ministry, on their own application, first made to the ministers, and then by them announced to the assembled brethren.[1] "Those who are approved have a place assigned them for receiving instruction; for almost all of them come from the care of cattle, or from agriculture, have attained the age of twenty-five or thirty years, and are destitute of learning. Trial is made of them for three or four years, during two or three of the winter months only. They learn to read and write,[2] and commit to memory the whole of S. Matthew's and of S. John's Gospels, the Canonical[3] Epistles, and a considerable part of those of S. Paul. They are then removed to a place where a number of those whom we style *sisters* live in a state of virginity, and they pass a year, or sometimes two years there;[4] still, it is confessed, chiefly employed in ordinary labours. After

[1] Compare Milner, iii. 461. (500.)

[2] It might perhaps be doubted whether "conjungere literas et legere" includes writing. Thuanus says, "They can all read and write," and that speaking of the Waldenses in Dauphiny. Milner, iii. 455. (494.)

[3] Qu. *Catholic.*

[4] I must confess myself at a loss to discover the design of this regulation.

this, if still approved, they are admitted to the office of presbyters and preachers, by the sacrament of the eucharist and the imposition of hands; and are sent forth to preach, by two and two. Those who have been longer in orders have always a precedency and preeminence over those more lately ordained."—Their ministers all lived unmarried, but not always, he regrets to say, in chastity. They were supported by the voluntary contributions of the people, which formed a common fund for their maintenance. They practised handicraft trades, partly for the convenience of the people,[1] and partly to avoid idleness: but this was carried so far as to obstruct their obtaining an adequate skill in the holy scriptures.—They had frequent times of prayer, sometimes by night as well as by day; and they generally used the Lord's prayer before meat. They guarded, however, against superstition in adherence to particular times and forms.—All their ministers met together once a year for consultation on their affairs, and to arrange their respective circuits; for they continued no more than two or three years in a place, except their old men, who were allowed to be stationary. On these occasions, before they separated, they mutually asked forgiveness of all offences. When any of their number fell into scandalous sin, he was separated from their company, forbidden to preach, and required to support himself by his own

A. D. 1530.

[1] Or in compliance with the wishes of the people—"ad plebis obsequium." This might seem to countenance Mosheim's statement, that the pastors were required to practise manual labours; in which, however, Milner (iii. (481.) 444.) does not concur. The paper, which I am abstracting, admits that the ministers were amply provided for by the liberality of the people.

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labour. But on this point advice was now particularly requested. "Such," says Maurel, "are the regulations respecting our ministers; which I have been convinced, since my arrival in this country, much need your judicious correction."

Then follows an account of the articles of their faith, including the Trinity, the divinity and incarnation of Christ, and redemption. Sacraments they held to be only "visible signs of an invisible grace," beneficial to the faithful, but not essential to salvation. "Here," he says, "I understand that we have erred, in admitting more sacraments than two." They firmly rejected every other intercessor than Christ; and held purgatory to be altogether a fiction of Antichrist. They thought private confession useful, but only for the sake of obtaining counsel and assistance, and that set times were not to be prescribed for it. They condemned all human inventions in religion, particularly the popish distinctions of days and of meats, and, above all, the mass. The ministers, besides attending the sick, visited all their people, in their various stations, once a year, heard their confessions, and gave them suitable admonitions. In preaching, the two associate ministers sat together, and first the senior spoke, then the younger. Having no magistrates of their own, but being subject to "them that believed not," they exhorted the people to choose competent persons to act as arbitrators and peace-makers among them. Such as obstinately disobeyed admonition, they excluded from their intercourse, and from hearing the word, that they might be ashamed; for, without the latter interdiction, they found excommunication disregarded by many. They did not administer the sacraments to their

people: these were received from "the members of antichrist." They instructed them, however, in the nature of the sacraments, and warned them against trusting in antichristian ceremonies, and to entreat that it might not be imputed to them, if they were forced to see and hear such abominations—which they prayed might come to an end, and the truth and word of God run and be glorified.—They forbad their people the use of oaths, dancings, and all kinds of sports, except practising with the bow or other weapons: also of foolish and wanton songs; and of the studied ornaments of dress.—Their people were much scattered by persecution, and lived dispersed over an extent of eight hundred miles:[1] yet scarcely any left them, or incurred suspension among them. A. D. 1530.

He then enumerates twelve points on which they felt great hesitation—1. Whether among their ministers there ought to be different orders, as bishops, priests, and deacons: "for these seemed to be prescribed by the apostle to Timothy and Titus. Christ also appeared to have appointed Peter to be the head over the apostles; and amongst the apostles there were some who were styled pillars. These different ranks, however, did not exist amongst them."[2] 2. Whether capital punishments should be al-

[1] "Nam ab unius extremitate ad aliam intersunt plusquam octingenta milliaria." This must mean, I presume, the extreme distance between their remotest settlements in the south of Italy and in France.—I have felt a strong suspicion, that a mistake of this passage (reading *millia* for *milliaria*,) has furnished the foundation for the statement, that the number of the Waldenses in the year 1530 was estimated at 800,000. As, however, the statement is found alike in Perrin, Milner, Jones, and other writers, I do not venture to pronounce that it has no other foundation.

[2] This is contrary to Mosheim's account of the Waldenses.

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lowed. 3. Whether civil government were an ordinance of God. 4. Whether they should advise their people to put to death treacherous pretended brethren, who frequently insinuated themselves among them, and then went away to the bishops, monks, and civil governors, and asked, "What will you give us, and we will deliver into your hands the teachers of the Waldenses, for we know their haunts? on which they came in the night-time, with an armed force, and seized them; great persecutions were raised, and the ministers, and sometimes many of the people, were committed to the flames." 5. Whether, on any occasion, they might have recourse to the tribunals of "them that believed not?" 6. The proper line in which inheritances should descend. 7. Whether making interest of money, or gain by traffic, without labour; as also the taking of oaths, were altogether unlawful? 8. Whether the doctrine of sins, "original, venial, mortal, and of ignorance," were well founded? 9. Whether they ought to mourn for the dead? 10. Whether all infants were in a state of salvation, and all grown persons, without faith in Christ, the contrary? 11. Whether vows of celibacy were to be admitted, and what were the degrees of consanguinity within which marriage was prohibited. 12. "Lastly," says the writer, "nothing more disturbs us weak people, though I am conscious it is through our ignorance, than what I have heard and read, from the writings of Luther, concerning free-will, and the divine predestination." For our belief was, that all men are naturally endued by God with some portion of virtue, which in one man is more, in another less;.... by means of which, under the incitement of God, they may effect

somewhat; (according to that passage, *Behold I stand at the door and knock;*) and that he who will not, by the virtue thus implanted and excited in him, *open the door*, will at last receive according to his works. If it be not so, I see not, as Erasmus argues, how so many precepts of scripture, both affirmative and negative, are to be understood.—With respect to predestination our belief was, that the Almighty from eternity foreknew who would be saved, and who not; yet that he made every man for eternal life; and that the reprobate become such by their own fault, because they would not obey the commandments. But, if all things happen necessarily, as Luther affirms, and those who are predestinated to life cannot fail, and the contrary; to what purpose are the scriptures, preachers, or even physicians for the body, for all their efforts will make no difference in the event."[1] A. D. 1630.

[1] Mr. Gilly may certainly find in this passage (in which, however, much misapprehension is apparent,) far better proof, "that the doctrine of absolute predestination and election," "made not any part of the theology of the Vaudois pastors," than is furnished by their "latest" confession of faith, inserted in his Appendix. The eleventh article of that confession is as follows: "That God saves from that corruption and condemnation [into which all have fallen,] those whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, *not for any disposition, faith, or holiness*, that he foresaw in them, but *of his mere mercy* in Jesus Christ his Son; *passing by* all the rest, according to the *irreprehensible reason* of his free will and *justice*." I neither here, nor any where else, in this work, at least, at all enter into debate upon these doctrines, but only into the question of *fact*, what has been held, and what not. Now certainly this article asserts as "absolute" and unconditional an election as any rational person ever contended for, when it makes "mere mercy," in contradistinction to any "foreseen disposition, faith, or holiness" in us, the source of our election. It comes as near as possible to the very words of the Synod of Dort; namely, "This same election is not

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"You will be pleased also to inform us, what precepts are ceremonial and judicial, and whether these have become obsolete by the coming of Christ: whether allegorical senses of scripture are to be admitted, and what are the canonical books: and what mode of instructing the people we should adopt. In all things, we hope, and trust, and earnestly desire to be enlightened and directed by the Holy Spirit, through your instrumentality; for we long that you should be the pastor of our sheep, even as you are of your own flock. There is one shepherd and one fold.....Oh that we were all firmly united one with another, and that we could conduct every thing, as we have great need to do, by your counsel, and that of men like you! In all (main) points, however, we agree with you; and from the time of the apostles have thought as you do concerning the faith; differing in this alone, that, by our own fault, and the dulness of our apprehensions, we

made from any *foreseen faith, holiness,* or any other quality and *disposition,* as a prerequisite cause or condition in the man to be elected."—In short, the real point at issue between the parties in this controversy is, not concerning the *necessity* of "faith, holiness, right disposition," &c. in order to salvation, but whether these things be *the cause* or *the consequence* of our election of God.—In the other part of the Waldensian article also, there is the same correspondence with the Synod of Dort. "*Passing by* all the rest, according to the *irreprehensible reason* of his free will and *justice,*" is the statement of the Waldensian article: "Some are non-elect, or *passed by* in the eternal election of God; whom God from most free, *just, irreprehensible,* and immutable good pleasure, decreed *to leave* in the *common misery,* into which they have *by their own fault* cast themselves"—this is that of the Synod.—It is to be observed also, that the date of the article (1655) is 37 years posterior to that of the Synod.—Those who most strenuously contend, that election is not for foreseen goodness, contend also, that rejection is strictly according to, and for ill desert.

have by no means so just an understanding of the scriptures as you have. We come therefore to you to be directed, instructed, and edified. We are all worshippers of the same God!" [1] A. D. 1530.

To this humble pious application Œcolampadius made the following wise and faithful reply. Œcolampadius's Answer.

"Œcolampadius to our beloved brethren in Christ, grace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit. We learned, with great joy in Christ, from your faithful pastor, George Maurel, the particulars of your faith, and of your religious observances: and we give thanks to our heavenly Father, who hath called you into such blessed light, at a time when almost all the world is involved in the deepest darkness through the power of Antichrist. We recognize therefore the grace of Christ in you, and for the sake of it love you as brethren. Would that we could worthily declare the affection of our hearts towards you! What should we not be ready to do for this purpose, however difficult!

"Now we have somewhat to address to you with brotherly zeal; and we pray you to consider it not as dictated with imperious pride, but suggested with friendly compassion.—The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has endued you with the knowledge of his truth, and with spiritual benediction above many: but, if you cease not to be grateful, he is still rich, and can enrich you with greater treasures, and make you perfect, that you may *grow up into the measure of the stature of Christ.*—While, however, there are many things which we commend in you, there are also many which

[1] Scultet. 161—163: from the papers of Œcolampadius.

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we could wish to see improved. You know, that *with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation;* but that those who are ashamed to confess Christ before the world will hereafter not be acknowledged by his Father. As our God is truth, so he willeth them that serve him to do it without all shadow of dissimulation. He is jealous, and suffers not that his servants should draw in the yoke with Antichrist. He has no part with Belial, and with darkness. Now we learn, that, through fear of persecution, you so dissemble your faith, and conceal it, as to communicate with the unbelievers, and to partake in the abominations of their masses; in which you are aware that the death and passion of Christ are blasphemed. For, while they boast, that, by their sacrifices, they make satisfaction for the sins of the living and the dead, what follows, but that Christ has not made satisfaction by once dying for us? and that Christ is not our Saviour, but, in a manner, suffered in vain for us? Now, if we partake of such a polluted table, we proclaim ourselves one body with the impious, though we may do it with grief of heart: and, adding our Amen to their prayers, do we not deny Christ? What form of death ought we not to prefer before this? what suffering not to endure? nay, what infernal pit not to enter into, rather than sanction, contrary to our consciences, the impieties of blasphemers?—I am sensible of your weakness: but you ought to be stronger, who know that you are redeemed by the blood of Christ. He is more to be feared, who is *able to destroy both body and soul in hell.*—Why are we so anxious for our lives? Shall they be more precious to us than Christ? Shall we be content

with the allurements of this life, and not hasten to eternal joys? Crowns are held out to us, shall we avert our eyes from them? Who will believe our faith true, if it fail in the hour of persecution?—We pray that the Lord may increase your faith! We, for our parts, would rather die than be overcome by this temptation.—We exhort you, brethren, to weigh the subject more seriously. For, if we may conceal our faith under the reign of Antichrist, then may we also under the Turk: and, under Diocletian, we might have worshipped at the altars of Jupiter or Venus. Then might Tobias have worshipped the calf at Bethel.—What then becomes of our trust in God? But I fear, lest, if we honour not God as our duty requires, our whole life should become leavened with insincerity,[1] and we should be altogether rejected of God as *lukewarm*. How shall we *glory in the cross of Christ*, if we glorify him not, for fear of tribulation? Oh, brethren, we must not look back! we must not listen to the voice of our treacherous companion the flesh! which, though it may bear many things, yet makes shipwreck at the mouth of the harbour. A. D. 1530.

"The doctrines of your brotherhood were before known to us, from your answer, many years back, to Vladislaus, king of Hungary. In the things which relate to the Saviour, they are evidently those of the universal church, and are the same which we also hold."—He then recites the principal articles of the Apostles' Creed; and proceeds: "Concerning the sacred symbols also, our sentiments correspond with

[1] There is admirable wisdom in the sentiment—that, dissimulation being admitted in one point, with whatever reluctance, there was danger lest it should by degrees spread its influence, and leaven the whole character.

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your's[1]. . . . We do not approve of rebaptizing those who have been baptized by the papists, as is the practice of the anabaptists. . . . We know of no other intercessor than Christ. Human inventions, by which the conscience may be ensnared, and spiritual liberty prejudiced, we abhor as antichristian. We obey the magistrate, in things which are not contrary to the command of God. We *honour* him also: and we do not refuse the sanction of an oath, when he requires it, notwithstanding what we read in St. Matthew: for Christ there prohibited nothing which is not sinful in itself; and Jehovah himself sware; and so did Abraham and Paul, and were blameless.—In like manner, we do not condemn, as usury, all making interest of money. . . . We do not think it contrary to the divine law for the magistrate to punish with the sword. . . . We do not say that the judicial laws (of Moses) are abolished, as far as the *spirit* of them goes: the ceremonial are so, as shadows of which we have the substance, even Christ and the righteousness of faith.

"With respect to your ministers, we commend your not admitting any but persons of a proper age and of approved character: but allow me to suggest, that they appear to be sometimes more employed in manual labours than is necessary, and spend in such works the time which ought to be given to study. The labour of the hands is holy, but much more so the ministry of the word. The apostles would not *serve tables*, lest it should interfere with the duties of their sacred calling. Paul com-

[1] They seem to fall somewhat below the standard that we should approve, which makes them the 'pledge' and the 'means' of grace, to those who 'rightly receive them,' and not a 'sign only.' See above, p. 85, Note (*).

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mands Timothy, *Give thyself to reading*. We are not to tempt God, as if he were to be expected to instruct us, as he did the apostles, miraculously, without study on our part. We do not, however, exhort them to superfluous, philosophical, secular studies: the Old and New Testaments will find them employment enough. —Further: it does not seem agreeable to the intention of the apostles, that you should remove your ministers every three years. There is a difference between apostles (or missionaries) and pastors. The former are *sent forth*; but bishops and pastors should remain with their flocks: although they may advantageously be appointed visitors for the others.—Nor do we approve the injunction of celibacy.... It is not marriage that spoils priests, but sloth, self-indulgence, and the fear of the cross.... In like manner of monastic vows.—Finally, though among Christian ministers titles and degrees may safely be dispensed with, which too much savour of popish pomp and pride, yet let there be those who preside, and those who are subordinate; let there be inspectors or bishops; let there be preachers; and let there be those who are yet in training.

"Concerning the mode of instructing the people, it is not for us to prescribe. Only let those things be taught which conduce to faith and love, and let them be adorned by humility and endurance of the cross. Let things unrevealed (apocrypha, *secret things*)[1] be avoided, with contentious and curious questions, which gender pride, and strife, and hatred. Let the one object be, to set forth the glory of Christ, to produce a holy life, and to banish vice, hy-

[1] Deut. xxix. 29.

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pocrisy, and spiritual pride, the source of heresies, and of perdition to numbers."

He then enumerates the canonical books of scripture, as we have them, except that Esther is omitted. The books of the Apocrypha, he says, "we do not despise, but we do not allow them divine authority like the others." In the New Testament, he states, "We do not place the Apocalypse, the epistles of James and Jude, the second of Peter, and the second and third of John, on the same footing with the rest."—"Allegories, founded on scripture, agreeable to the analogy of faith, and not lowering the dignity of the sacred writings, we admit: but they are not to be invented according to the dreams of every one."

"All that doctrine which magnifies the grace of Christ we willingly embrace. Free will, as far as it derogates from grace, we do not approve. Yet we do not by this introduce a necessity of sinning: for they who sin do it voluntary, and of their own accord. Original sin has its own proper province (suam rationem). Our virtue is not the greater because of many *commands* being delivered to us: but great is the power of the Spirit, by which we perform the will of God: great also our backwardness, on account of which we are adjudged unworthy. There is such a thing as fate, or necessity, (*fati ratio*) with God, which is immutable, though all things appear to you uncertain. But you are not called to attend to *the secret things* of God, but to his word, which we ought to believe, and by which we shall (then) be saved. —We cannot deny predestination: and that it cannot fail is most certain: but what then? is God unjust? is he untrue? Let us humble ourselves before his majesty, which abases the

proud, while his mercy encourages the contrite in heart, who seek help from him alone, and not from the flesh and their own will; that in all things the praise may be God's.—What have we to do with the contentions of Erasmus and Luther?—*Our perdition is from ourselves; our salvation only from the Lord our God.*[1] A. D. 1530.

"Therefore, my brethren, since you have received from the Lord so precious a talent, go on and look not back: give glory to God by living righteously, soberly, and piously. Let not the flesh prevail, to your destruction, but let it be subdued, to his glory. For, if we lose our life here for Christ, we shall find it in the resurrection of the just to eternal life:—which, may it be granted to us all by the grace of Christ!

"I entreat you not to despise this brotherly admonition: for I would not speak or write any thing which I thought Christ would disapprove. Our beloved and much to be respected brother in Christ, George Maurel, will relate to you other things by word of mouth.—

[1] I cannot here refrain from expressing my admiration of the wisdom of this great man in treating with these plain people on such abstruse subjects. He simply asserts what is clearly scriptural on both sides: "We cannot deny predestination: but what then? is God unjust," in holding us accountable? or "is he untrue," in the declarations and promises of his word? He calls them off from curious questions, and prying into things "too high" for *them*, and probably for *any* man in the present state of existence: "You are not called to attend to the secret things of God, but to his" revealed "word, which we ought to believe" implicitly, and by believing which "we shall be saved." And, finally, he wraps up the whole in the *pious* and *practical* position, which involves all that the profoundest minds have been able to attain to upon these points—"that our perdition is from ourselves; our salvation only from the Lord our God."

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Intreat God on behalf of us and our church: and we also will be mindful of you in the Lord. —Basle 13 October, 1530." [1]

Œcolampadius wrote four days after to Bucer, concerning his visitors, who were proceeding to Strasburg: "You will be visited by the Waldenses, exceedingly pious men, who wish to hear your sentiments on certain points. They will shew you the answer I have given them. That you may not waste your time, read what I have written, and either give them better counsel, or sanction mine; that so they may depart in peace, and commence their reformation. You will receive them with the kindness which belongs to you: but, if through the pressure of business you cannot enter into the subject, desire Capito to undertake it." [2]

The result of these communications appears to have been highly gratifying, except as it was connected with further sufferings on the part of this persecuted people of God.—Latomus was seized, on his way home, at Dijon, and thrown into prison. Maurel reached Merindol (in Provence) in safety, with the books and papers which he had brought from the German churches. [3] He informed the people of all that had passed, and publicly declared "the many errors into which they had fallen." In consequence, so earnest a zeal for reforming their church was excited, that they sent for some of

[1] Scultet. 163—166. ex Epist. Œcolam. tom. i. Gerdesius, Hist. Ref. ii. 401—418, has copied these interesting papers from Scultetus.

[2] Scultet. 166.

[3] Ruchat makes both the deputies to reach their home in safety: but many of the Waldenses are stated to have been imprisoned on this occasion, and Martin Gonimus, who had been sent to Farel, a reformed minister at Neufchatel, to have been drowned in a sack at Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiny. Gerdes. ii. 417.

their older and more experienced brethren from Calabria and Apulia, (the south of Italy,) to consult with them on the subject: but, this coming to be known, the governor of the province, the bishops, priests, and monks raised fresh persecution, against them,[1] which was carried on with great cruelty, "notwithstanding the more favourable intentions of Francis I. towards them," till the death of that monarch.[2] A. D. 1531.

Writings of Luther.

We will now close the present chapter with some notice of the writings of Luther about this period.

In the year 1531, he published nothing of consequence in addition to the works which have been already mentioned. He was much occupied in preaching at Wittemberg, in the absence of Bugenhagius Pomeranus, who had gone, by invitation, to Lubeck, to establish a reformed ministry in that place.[3] The next year he printed various expositions, sermons, and other minor pieces, which would be very

[1] Scultet. 166.—Perrin mentions a meeting held in the valley of Agrogno, in Piemont, September 12, 1535, at which the ministers and heads of families from "all their valleys," assembled, and in which, after considering the communications of Œcolampadius, Bucer, and others, they agreed to certain articles, to be received and observed of the whole people. It appears to have been included among these articles, that they should administer the *two* (only) sacraments among themselves. The first consequences of this meeting are said to have been, that the popish priests, despairing of reclaiming the people, silently withdrew from the valleys, and that the Vaudois proceeded, the following year, to print, in Switzerland, a translation of the whole Bible into the French language—the first that had ever been printed.—Persecutions, however, soon followed.—*Luther's Forerunners*, Lond. 1624, ii. 57—62, where the substance of the Vaudois articles is given.

[2] Jones. [3] Seck. iii. 16, 17.

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edifying to the churches, but need not be particularly specified in this place.[1] Some brief quotations, however, may be given.

Evidences of Grace.

Let the following passages, on the evidences of a state of grace, be combined with the writer's well known and constant assertion of the doctrine of justification by faith only.—In his lectures on the Sermon on the Mount, he says: "Our forgiving our neighbour is an external *proof* that we are ourselves forgiven by God. Where there is not this proof, I cannot be certain of the internal blessing of justification: rather, I deceive myself and others. But, if I find that I truly forgive my neighbour, then I may conclude thus: 'This proceeds not from myself: I perceive that by the grace of God I am a new man.'"[2]—Again, in his discourses on the Christian armour, (Ephes. vi.) speaking of "the breastplate of righteousness," which it appears he understood to mean a holy walk and conversation, he says: "When I live a holy life before men, and can repel all charges against me, I become certain of my faith; as the tree is proved to be good by good fruit: and thus faith increases and is confirmed. But this is not the case with those who live in sin: for thus faith is staggered; and the mind rendered incapable of the confidence and consolation that God is pacified towards it, and forgives those sins in which it still continues."[3]—The term faith seems to be here not quite properly applied to confidence of personal acceptance, (to which "those who live in sin" cannot be entitled, whereas faith, properly so called, is every man's duty;) but well would it have been for the church, had the *ground* of our accept-

[1] Seck. iii. 33—38. [2] Ib. 33, 34. [3] Ib. 36.

ance, and the *proof* that we are accepted, been always thus clearly distinguished. A. D. 1532.

Advent of Christ.

Speaking of the advent of Christ he says; "O God, were not that day to be looked for, I would rather never have been born! See what is the existing state of things, and how the gospel is treated in the world: what persecutions, calumnies, hatred, and contempt! And then, among ourselves, how many false and deceitful, wayward and wicked!... These things wound and wear down the hearts of Christians. Why then do we not cry to God to terminate the present state of things? We should be most miserable, could we not hope for deliverance." [1]

His own Times.

In discoursing on the second Psalm, he thus notices what he had himself witnessed: "In our time, the success of the gospel was at first great; and all hoped, as the apostles did, before they were enlightened by the Spirit of God in the nature of his kingdom, that our doctrine would introduce public liberty and tranquillity: but, when disturbances arose, and the true character of the spiritual kingdom was discerned, with the infirmities of good men, and the like; then many drew back, and began to hate the gospel. What was the cause of all this, but ignorance of the nature and conditions of the kingdom of Christ—which is of that kind, that it is every where exposed to the opposition of the world and of Satan. They who are not aware of this will fail when dangers arise, and will condemn the gospel as a seditious doctrine." [2]

He elsewhere complains of the conceit and arrogance both of the nobles and the common

[1] Seck. iii. 36. [2] Ib. 37.

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people; "that they thought they understood the gospel not only better than he did, but better than even S. Paul himself; and were wiser in their own eyes than all their pastors:" whence he anticipated approaching calamity.[1]

In a sermon on "God is love," we find the following painful acknowledgment: "I confess, and others join me in the confession, that there is not now the same diligence and zeal as under the papacy. There is not the same fervency under the gospel as was seen in the time of the priests and monks, when so many foundations were formed, so many buildings raised; when no one was so poor as not to contribute something. Now, a whole city can scarcely support a single preacher. All grasp and seize for themselves, and will not endure a reprover. Whence arises this scandalous evil? 'From your doctrine,' cry our adversaries, with the lungs of Stentor,—because men are taught that they must not trust in their good works. But it is the devil who imputes, to a pious and salutary doctrine, what arises from himself, and wicked men abusing that doctrine."[2]

Luther no doubt here paints strongly, aiming to produce a conduct contrary to that of which he complains. At the same time, numbers, released from the obligations which had extorted certain services from them under the old regimen, and continuing strangers to any new and better principle, would "abuse liberty for an occasion to the flesh." Yet let the reader compare the account given, in the preceding chapter, of Saxony, as contrasted with the surrounding countries, and he will see that Luther was as far from conceding that protestantism

[1] Seck. iii. 33. [2] Ib. 64.

must yield to popery in its power of producing good works, as we are at this day from granting, that those who renounce all confidence in their own righteousness fall short, in moral virtue and usefulness of life, of those who trust in what they do. A. D. 1532.

We may confirm this statement by the following extract from an address of the protestants to Granvelle, the emperor's chief minister, in the year 1540. "It would really be very acceptable to us, if the emperor would examine the whole matter, and diligently inquire where it is that the ministers of the church are most civilly and kindly used, schools best ordered, the functions and ministry of the church most decently performed; whether in our territories or amongst our adversaries. If the emperor would give himself this trouble, we need not make any apology to justify and defend the matter of fact," respecting the application of the ecclesiastical funds; for the thing itself would speak in our behalf, and move him to set about a true reformation of the church."[1]

His sentiments concerning pastoral authority, and the right of setting up for religious teachers, will hardly suit an age of relaxed or almost abrogated discipline.—He approved of especially opposing to the anabaptists, who privily crept in and injured the people, their entire want of authority to exercise the office of teachers. "Who called them," he asks, "to come in, and unsettle the minds of the peasants, and to withdraw men from their proper pastors? Why do they not ask leave of the pastors to address their people? If that is refused, they have discharged their consciences.—Let them Pastoral Authority.

[1] Sleid. 260.

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either shew their letters of human commission, or give proofs of a divine one, by working miracles." He would have the people instructed concerning the necessity and the proofs of a call to exercise the office of teachers. "The difficulty," he observes, "is sufficiently great for them that are duly called, to set forth the true doctrine: what is to be hoped for from those who are not called? I would not for all the world want my proper vocation as a teacher. Without it, I should despair under the burdens which press upon me. But now God and all the world are witnesses, that, by the grace of God, I have publicly discharged the duties, which my office as a teacher and preacher requires of me."—Some of these sentiments will not obtain, perhaps are not fully intitled to, universal concurrence: yet they deserve to be considered. They may tend to check the rashness of some who boldly "rush," where wiser and holier men "fear to tread;" and to impress on others more serious sentiments, than they have been used to entertain, on the subject of undertaking to instruct men in "things pertaining to God." And, whatever may be determined concerning those who have the authority of sending forth teachers, surely no sober mind will think, that a man's own inclination to assume the office is his sufficient warrant.[1]

[1] Luther, however, means his doctrine for ordinary cases, not for those of extreme exigency. If, for instance, we were placed in the midst of the avowed enemies of the faith, and there were any to be taught—"In such a case," he says, "any Christian ought to put himself forward, called by the necessity of charity, and to do all that he can for the salvation of souls." Seck. iii. 187: also 122.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PACIFICATION OF NUREMBERG TO THE CONVENTION OF FRANCFORT.

Proceedings respecting a Council.

THE whole period assigned to this chapter, with several years that followed, was in great measure occupied in negotiations and intrigues respecting a general council. The particulars are detailed at great length by Sleidan and Seckendorf, as well as by Father Paul; but they are wearisome, and yield no satisfaction to a mind in quest of the interior history of the church of Christ, and of true religion. They may therefore be almost wholly passed over in this work. Clement VII., while he professed his willingness to call a council, persevered to the end of his life in the artifices which he knew would delay, if not finally prevent, its convocation. His death took place in the year 1534. His successor, Paul III., (of the house of Farnese,) though, having witnessed "the universal censure which Clement had incurred by his obstinacy, he hoped to avoid the same reproach by the seeming alacrity with which he proposed a council, yet flattered himself that such difficulties would arise concerning the time and place of meeting, the persons who had a right to be present, and the order of their proceedings, as would effectually defeat the intention of those who demanded it."[1]

[1] Robertson, iii. 61, 68.

CHAP. III.

Erasmus's Work on Concord in Religion.

A. D. 1533.

Soon after the pacification of Nuremberg, while public expectation was pretty strongly directed to the holding of a council, Erasmus, who has for a considerable time disappeared from our view, again rendered himself conspicuous in the affairs of the church. In a commentary on the eighty-fourth Psalm,[1] he published his thoughts on concord in religion. The object proposed, important as it is, was one to which Erasmus, in great measure from a natural love of ease, had always been disposed to make too large sacrifices, even those of truth and principle.[2] The present performance appears to be precisely one of those works, which from time to time come forth in periods of conflict, and to which our own age has been no stranger: works which, assuming to occupy the high ground of impartial decision between contending parties, really do great injustice to one or the other of them, and commonly to that which is esteemed the weaker and more obnoxious. Such works often proceed either from men of ambitious policy, who seek to commend themselves to such as are able to advance them, and are at the same time persons of professed, perhaps of real, moderation; or from men who, attempting little themselves, affect the praise of superior wisdom by censuring those who are doing great practical good, though not without that mixture of error and infirmity which is incident to human nature. Such men often avail themselves of the important truths, which the very objects of their censure have brought into public notice, propound them as their own, and are severe on the extravagances with which, as they pretend, the others have deformed and

[1] Opera, Basil. 1540. v. 394. [2] Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

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oppressed them. From no one of these charges, it is probable, taking into account what we already know of Erasmus,[1] shall we be able to acquit him on this occasion.

In the part of his work with which we are concerned,[2] after some general advice, very good indeed, but very little likely to be followed—such as, that all orders of men, popes, princes, magistrates, monks, priests, people, should aim to become what they ought to be, and to discharge their several duties in an exemplary manner,—he comes to some particular points of doctrine. The question of *free will*, he observes, is *spinosa verius quam frugifera*, "productive of more thorns than fruit." "It is enough," he says, "for us to agree, that man can effect nothing of himself: that, if he can do any thing, it is entirely of divine grace: that very much indeed is to be ascribed to faith, which is the peculiar gift of the Holy Spirit, and is of much wider extent than is commonly supposed,[3] and is not possessed by all who say, 'I believe that Christ died for me.' Let it be allowed, that the hearts of believers are *justified*, that is *purified*,[4] by

[1] Milner, v. 315—354. (904—945.) It has been really painful to me to see, how fully Dr. Milner's representations of this eminent scholar are borne out even by Dr. Jortin's biography of him. Jortin, though naturally partial to the subject of his work, from time to time pronounces an honest and just censure of him.

[2] Page 419, &c.

[3] "Conveniat inter nos, fidei plurimum esse tribuendum, modo fateamur et hoc, peculiare esse Spiritus Sancti donum, idque multo latius patere quam vulgus hominum credit." It might seem doubtful whether his meaning is, that the gift of faith is conferred on more persons than is commonly supposed, or that the faith given has a wider range of objects (see Heb. xi. throughout,) than is usually assigned to it.

[4] A notable instance of the manner in which *justification*

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faith: only let us confess, that the works of charity (or love) are necessary to the attainment of (final) salvation; for true faith cannot be idle, being the fountain and source of all good works. God is not properly any man's debtor, except he have made himself such by free promise; and even then our performing the condition of the promise is itself the fruit of his bounty. Yet the word *reward* or *merit* is not to be rejected, since God of his goodness is pleased to accept and reward what he himself works in us or by us.[1] Let there be no contending about words, if only we are agreed about the thing itself. Nor let the ears of the ignorant multitude be filled with such speeches as these, 'It matters not what our works are; only believe, and you shall be saved:' and again, 'Whatever a man does, he does nothing but sin.' Though there may be a sense in which these things are true, yet they are drawn by the unskilful to an unsound meaning."

Almost all this, no doubt, is truly excellent: but, then, was it contrary to the doctrine of Luther? was it what his opponents had taught?

was confounded with *sanctification*: in opposition to which the reformers contended, that the true sense of justification was the *forensic* sense: not that it could in all points correspond with the *acquittal* of an accused person in a court of justice, (for, in that case, so far from including *pardon*, it must be incompatible with it;) but that it stood properly opposed to *condemnation*, not to *corrupt disposition*, and denoted a change of state, not of character; restoration to favour, not restoration to holiness. The latter is sanctification, not justification;—essentially distinct, though inseparable blessings. On the forensic sense of justification, compare Milner iv. 510. (494.)

[1] It has been seen that in this sense Luther allowed, and the confession of Augsburg retained, the objectionable term *merit*—which, however, is less strong in the Latin than in the English. See above, c. i.

was it even, as it would perhaps purport to be, intermediate between the two? Rather its being propounded in this manner by Erasmus is a proof of the extent to which Luther had prevailed in his attacks upon long-established error. Erasmus himself, it is probable, would never have written or thought as he here does, had it not been for Luther. Seckendorf justly observes, that most of the positions which he thus lays down, "might be expressed, and nearly in the same words, from Luther himself; though Erasmus was accustomed so to temper his language, that it might not directly offend against the formularies of a party which he dared not desert. His doctrine of free will, for example, here proposed, avoiding all *thorny* disputations, as he calls them, is substantially that which Luther maintained. Only adhere to what is thus taught concerning human impotency and imperfection, and what becomes of the sort of merit for which Eccius, Faber, and all that class of men contended?—The sentences, to which Erasmus objects, were not Luther's, but were calumniously imputed to him." So far the learned historical commentator on Lutheranism.[1]

A. D. 1533.

The reader, indeed, may justly remark, that no sufficient proof has yet appeared, that Luther and his more judicious friends are here at all alluded to as objects of censure. But let us proceed with our review of the work.

Passing to another class of topics, Erasmus thinks it "*pious* to believe, that the prayers

[1] Seck. iii. 50. "If the sentence, 'Man does nothing else but sin,' is in any sense true, (which Erasmus seems to say it is,) it is only in the sense which Erasmus thus expresses, 'We ought in all things to acknowledge our own frailty.'" Seckendorf.

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and good works of the living profit the dead, especially if they had made provision for these services in their lifetime. But let not those," he says, "who cannot believe this, rave against the simplicity of others, but only be the more zealous of good works themselves." In like manner of the invocation of the saints he argues, that "those characters must still be supposed to retain power with God after death, at whose instance, and through whose instrumentality, he wrought miracles while they lived:" "and, if they are not conscious of the prayers which we address to them, yet Christ is, who loves simple souls, and will give us what we ask, if not *through* the saints, yet certainly *for* them."[1] "Superstition, indeed, is to be reproved, but simple affection or regard of this kind is to be borne with, even though it be joined with some degree of error." Thus does he palliate dominant evils, which he cannot defend, and call that *simplicity* and *pious affection*, which he cannot but feel to be superstitious and dangerous, if not even absolutely idolatrous: and thus does he, in effect, exhibit himself as the apologist of those, who were the bitter enemies of all real reformation. "How much better," observes the honest and manly Seckendorf, "to call a spade a spade!" And thus also, we may further remark, while he softens down, and puts a favourable construction on the gross errors and corrupt practices of the ruling party, does Erasmus apply harsh terms to the opposition made to those corruptions and errors by the other side. "Let them not rave (obstrepant) against the simplicity of others." "Let them worship the Father, the

[1] "Si minus per sanctos, certe pro sanctis."

Son, and the Holy Spirit themselves, and not with disgusting officiousness disturb (deturbent odiose) those, who, without superstition, implore the intercession of the saints." These are the terms applied to the only men who were likely to correct the prevailing evils, and who, at least as far as Luther and his colleagues, and such as they approved, were concerned, confined their opposition to arguments, and protests, and other peaceable proceedings; while their adversaries indeed *raged* against them, as far as they could do it, with fire and sword, with banishment, confiscation, and death; of which we shall see many instances in the period of this chapter. A.D. 1533.

Again, with regard to image-worship, he says: "The zeal of those who rage against images is not, in my opinion, altogether without reason, though it is excessive: for idolatry, or the worship of images, of which there is still danger, is a horrible crime." Yet he talks of pictures and statues as being "a more vivid kind of poetry;" "and, as Plato would not banish all poetry from his republic, but only that which conveyed unworthy notions of the gods, so," he says, "whatever superstition has crept in by means of images ought to be corrected, and yet their proper use preserved. Let those therefore, who think that no honour is to be paid to the images of the saints, enjoy their own opinion, but let them not rail at others who, without superstition, so venerate images, from love to the characters represented by them, as a wife may kiss the ring or the girdle of her absent husband!"—What idle trifling is this, with which to treat grave and serious points, affecting the worship of God and the safety of souls! What principle is there so

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sacred, that may not be compromised and frittered away by verbiage of this kind? Justly indeed does Jortin remark, that, if none had arisen to do more than Erasmus would have done, we might have been involved in all the delusion and superstition of popery to this day.

In like manner of the veneration of relics: he thinks "Paul would have allowed every man his own opinion on such subjects." Preposterous as the sentiment is, was such the plan of the Romish church, to allow men their own opinion on *any* subject?

With regard to confession, those who did not think it appointed by Christ might yet retain it "as salutary, attended with various advantages, and sanctioned by the practice of many ages." He would, however, restrict it within much narrower limits than were commonly assigned to it.

Concerning the mass, or celebration of the Lord's supper, Seckendorf remarks, that of all the observances which Erasmus requires to be retained, and requires it as if they had really been discontinued, there was scarcely one which Luther had not preserved.

Having treated some other topics in a similar manner, passing over, however, the questions of the authority of the pope, the marriage of the clergy, purgatory, and others of considerable importance, he concludes with a flattering encomium of the moderation and conciliatory mind of the emperor, of Ferdinand, of the kings of France and England, of the pope, and others; and says all would be well, if "other princes and states" would direct their attention a right way;—implying that the real obstacles to peace were on the side of the protestants: whereas their opponents, though they might be glad to

avail themselves of Erasmus's name in the controversy, would no more have admitted of his modifications than of their changes—in short would yield nothing at all.—He threatens those, therefore, who should stand out, with the wrath of God and the vengeance of the emperor,—who, though forbearing, "would at length execute whatever he had once resolved." "Rashness," he says, "and attempts like those of the Cyclops against heaven never succeed: violence, undirected by wisdom, draws down its own ruin." [1] A. D. 1533.

The divines of Strasburg appear to have received this work of Erasmus with more favour than it deserved; for they translated it into German, and dispersed it pretty widely. This drew from Musculus, formerly of their city, but now of Augsburg, and a Zuinglian, an expostulation, in a letter to Bucer. "I fear," he says, "lest, through an excessive and morbid desire of concord, you should tamper with the truth that has been taught and acknowledged among you: which God prevent!" "We know with whom we have to enter into concord; men who have not repented of their abominable doctrine and manner of life, so as to depart from it even a hair's breadth. Accursed be that concord, which cannot be established but at the expence of truth and of Christ's kingdom!" "Erasmus," he observes, "bends all his force to shew, that there is no salvation out of the unity of the church." This, as applied to an external church, Musculus reprobates; and admits it only of the spiritual church, or body of Christ, of which we are constituted members by a lively faith.[2] Musculus on Erasmus's Treatise.

[1] Seck. iii. 49—53. [2] Seck. iii. 52. Scultet. 187, 188.

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Corvinus, and Luther, on the same. 1534.

Anthony Corvinus, also, a Hessian divine, wrote an answer to Erasmus's treatise, and Luther prefixed a preface to his work. Luther praises the elegance and moderation of Corvinus, which, he says, he could not imitate in such controversies as these: he would restrain himself, however, and allow that Erasmus and his followers meant well; but the terms of agreement, which they proposed, could not be admitted with a safe conscience. "The union of *charity*," he says, "is one thing, that of *faith* another; and the former we have ever promoted. We have always been ready to yield and to suffer whatever could be granted or endured without violating our faith. Never have we thirsted after their blood, much less shed it. We have injured them in nothing: on the contrary we have strenuously supported them against the seditious and fanatical spirits, and (as many of themselves confess,) have done more to defend them against these people than they did themselves. On this account we have incurred the more bitter hatred of such furious persons, who abhor the Lutherans vastly more than they do the papists; while the latter cease not to shed our blood, and to pursue us with fire and sword, and with every species of cruelty, for no other reason than because we cannot, contrary to our consciences, place their human traditions on a footing with God's word, or rather exalt them above God himself and his worship. God, therefore, will judge between us, whether the hindrance to concord is found with us or with them.—The union of charity, I say, we have sought with our whole souls: but the union of faith, or doctrine, between us is in vain sought by Erasmus, through the medium of mutual concession; for, so far from conceding any

thing whatever, our adversaries have even exacted things which, before Luther arose, they had themselves condemned. Their whole cry is, 'The church, The church;' and they give that name to impious men, who presume to think and determine above the scriptures, and contrary to the scriptures, and that (as they pretend,) by divine authority! And Erasmus confirms their error, by every where promising to follow the church, and considering every thing as doubtful and undetermined till the church has decided it. If this be right, we have only to say, 'I believe that the papists are the church, and that whatever they determine is the truth;' and thus we shall all be safe. But assuredly the mind which fears God, and dreads eternal death, and desires everlasting life, cannot thus rest in doubtful and uncertain doctrines. It must have the sure word of God to go upon. This sceptical uncertainty, therefore, of Erasmus's divinity, I censured in my work on the Bondage of the Will. I speak not now of controversies agitated concerning the question, what the scriptures really teach, but of things taught, and enforced by violence, which are independent of scripture, and contrary to scripture.—Erasmus, therefore, had better abstain from theology, (which requires a mind seriously and simply loving and seeking after the word of God,) and employ his eloquence on subjects more adapted to his genius." [1] A. D. 1534.

Seckendorf remarks that, "whatever new and more accurate methods of discussion may have been invented, hardly any thing can be pointed out, tending to establish divine truth, and to demonstrate the necessity of reformation,

[1] Seck. iii. 53, 54: ubi plura.

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which Luther has not anticipated; and that this one preface might suffice to teach us, how to form our judgment of all attempts made to produce conciliation and agreement. To render such attempts feasible or admissible, all necessary truths must be established from the scriptures alone, and nothing imposed, as requisite to be believed, but upon that only ground; nor any thing given up which is on that ground established: in other things moderation and concession are to be had recourse to, for the sake of peace: and, even where agreement cannot be attained, yet charity is to be cultivated."

Death of Erasmus: July 1536.

As this is the last time that our attention will be directly called to Erasmus, we may here state, that he died three years afterwards, at Basle, aged about seventy years; having exhibited, says Seckendorf, "many indications of piety near the end of his life." On his death-bed, he received with kindness Conrad Pellican of Zurich, with whom he had previously had sharp contentions; and he asked Pellican's forgiveness of any offence he might have given him. He also made honourable mention of Bullinger. "These," observes the same historian, "were not the proceedings of a man, who held all that separated from the church of Rome to be out of the pale of salvation."[1]

Persecutions of George Duke of Saxony. 1532-3.

About this time Luther gave high offence to duke George of Saxony. The occasion was as follows. The duke had taken measures for ascertaining the number of Lutherans among his subjects: and, in consequence of the discoveries thus made, he ordered seventy or eighty families at Leipsic, comprising nearly

[1] Seck. iii. 137, 138.

eight hundred persons, to quit his dominions. In corresponding with these people, Luther had advised them to suffer all extremities rather than receive the eucharist, contrary to their consciences, in the popish mode, and had, no doubt with a harshness which was reprehensible, and could only do harm, styled George an "apostle" or emissary "of the devil." This coming to the ears of the duke highly incensed him, and he in consequence made a vehement appeal to the elector, charging Luther with exciting his subjects to sedition. The elector admonished the reformer to be more circumspect, or it would not be in his power to screen him. Luther, however, wrote in his own vindication, and subjoined a consolatory epistle to the exiles.[1] A. D. 1533.

This treatment of the citizens of Leipsic was only a specimen of the severity, with which George proceeded against those who yielded not implicit submission to the rules of the church. Fabricius, in his Origines Saxonicæ,[2] gives an account of equal cruelties practised in Misnia against such as presumed to eat forbidden meats, to frequent any other than their parish churches, or to receive the sacrament otherwise than the papal ritual prescribed. Priests guilty of such offences were subjected to torture: others were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, or died of want, or from the stench of the places in which they were confined: and these were buried by the hangman, or other base officer, in waste ground where the dead bodies of unclean animals were cast. Some were sent into exile, with merely a cloth thrown over them, having in it a rent, through

[1] Sleid. 167, 168. Seck. iii. 39, 55—59. [2] Lib. vii. p. 874.

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which their heads were passed: "and this," says the narrator, "I myself have seen at Dresden." —Luther wrote to these exiles also, exhorting them to be peaceable and patient, for that "the fury of the duke would not last long; nor would it go unpunished."[1]

Extension of the Reformation.

Yet all George's severities could not prevent the progress of protestant principles, even among his ministers, and his own near relatives. On these grounds Anthony à Schönberg, a man of high family, and brother to a cardinal, forfeited the duke's favour, and incurred persecution from him. Others of the same family manifested similar sentiments, particularly Ernest, who had commanded the duke's troops in the rustic war, and had himself been very tenacious of the established rites. When death approached, he wrote to George, requesting that he would permit him "to receive Christ's testament as Christ had himself appointed, namely, entire in both its parts;" and, not being able to prevail for such indulgence, he made application to the elector, to send him a pious and learned minister to instruct him, and administer the sacrament to him. This was accordingly done. —George's daughter-in-law also, Elizabeth sister to the landgrave of Hesse, conceived such scruples, as made her refuse to receive the sacrament according to the papal usage.[2]

But indeed the extension of the reformation at this period was rapid. "The religious truce concluded at Nuremberg," says Mosheim, "inspired with new vigour and resolution the friends of the reformation. It gave strength to the feeble, and perseverance to the bold. Encouraged by it, those, who had hitherto been

[1] Seck. iii 69. [2] Ib. 69, 128, 223.

only secret enemies to the Roman pontiff, spurned now his yoke publicly, and refused to submit to his imperious jurisdiction. This appears from the various cities and provinces in Germany, which about this time boldly enlisted themselves under the standard of Luther."[1] To some of the instances here referred to, our attention may now be more particularly turned. A. D. 1533.

The elector of Saxony, at the instance of the states under his jurisdiction, early availed himself of the confidence inspired by the pacification, to complete that ecclesiastical visitation of his dominions, by commissioners, partly lay and partly clerical, which had been begun some years before,[2] but never finished. This appears to have been conducted to the great advancement of religion, by the removal of scandalous priests, the rooting out of the remainders of superstition, the promoting of sound instruction, both among youth and persons of mature age, the making provision for the preservation of ecclesiastical edifices, and for the maintenance of the clergy. In these latter duties, the people, since they were relieved from the burdens imposed under the ancient system, had, as we have seen, shewn themselves very remiss; and some appropriations were now made for the purpose from the funds of the monasteries and other abrogated institutions.—On this occasion also the reformation was first extended to the seventy parishes of Swartzburg in Thuringia, and to some places not immediately under the elector's authority, particularly in Voightland in Misnia.[3] Visitation of Saxony completed. (1528.)

Three years afterwards, the same pious prince materially augmented the endowment of the 1536.

[1] Mosh. iii. 361. [2] Milner v. 490. (1089.)
[3] Seck. iii. 70, 71.

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university of Wittemberg; on which occasion he thankfully acknowledges what God had wrought by means of that institution, and especially through the instrumentality of Luther and Melancthon—"making manifest," he says, "the true and Christian understanding of his word, to the comfort and salvation of all men."[1]

Edict of the duke of Cleves. 1533.

In the same year with the visitation of Saxony a movement took place in the dutchy of Cleves, in Westphalia, from which more, perhaps, might at first have been expected than actually followed. The duke John (father of Sibylla, wife to the elector of Saxony, and of Ann, afterwards married to Henry VIII of England,) issued a long edict, containing very particular directions for the reformation of the church in his dominions. Many of these regulations were excellent; as, that "the Old and New Testaments should be the rule according to which ministers should preach, so as to lead men to the true knowledge of Christ, to charity, obedience, peace, and amendment of life:" that they should teach "that the written word of God contained every thing necessary to salvation, and that the people should implore Almighty God to open their minds to the true understanding of it: that, with respect to more obscure passages, no arbitrary sense was to be put upon them, but that they were to be interpreted according to the context, and by the help of passages which were more clear: that what the scriptures taught, which was above reason, was not to be attempted to be confirmed by arguments drawn from reason, but received with a simple faith: that the evil of sin was to be demonstrated from the death of Christ, who suffered for sins not his

[1] Seck. iii 142.

own: that faith consists not in a slight assent, but in a firm persuasion of all things taught in scripture, and in a sincere reliance on the grace promised through Christ: and that no one is interested in the promises, who does not study to obey the commands of God." Yet, with all these excellent principles, the promulgator of this edict retains many of the superstitious usages of popery, very much after the manner of Erasmus in his treatise on concord, lately reviewed; and the whole is certainly chargeable with *prescribing too much*, both in matters of faith and of religious observance. In this, Seckendorf suspects that there was some artful management on the part of those who drew up the edict—especially since, all being in the name of the prince alone, to whom the church of Rome allowed no authority in such matters, the whole would more easily, under a change of circumstances, be declared null and void. Accordingly, partly perhaps from this cause, but still more from its motley character, it was productive of little fruit in the duchy; and might thus be considered as furnishing a specimen of what Erasmus's plans were likely to effect.[1] A. D. 1533.

Reformation desired in Italy. 1533.

The rays of evangelical truth, it appears, had also penetrated into Italy, and even to the very heart of the papal dominions; and we find at this time a remarkable address in favour of reformation, made by some distinguished citizens of Bologna to John Planitz, the elector's ambassador at the court of the emperor, then held in that city. The design of the address was, to entreat Planitz most seriously to urge the emperor to procure a council, which the addressers hoped might lead to some reforma-

[1] Seck. iii. 66—68.

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tion in religion,—an object "most earnestly desired by many pious, learned, and honourable persons in the first cities of Italy, and even in Rome itself." They spoke for themselves in the most unequivocal, and at the same time, in the most humble language. They congratulated the deliverance of Saxony from the tyranny of antichristian superstition, and applauded the elector's zeal for extending the like liberty of the gospel to other countries. They trusted that, at all events, the pope might be so far prevailed upon, that it might no longer be esteemed heretical for either priests or laymen to purchase the scriptures, or a proof of Lutheranism to quote sometimes the words of Christ or of S. Paul. This, they say, "is at present the case: and what is the reign of Antichrist, if this is not?" They entreat the ambassador "to leave no means untried, that his mission into Italy might not prove to have been in vain, and that their hopes might not issue in disappointment. For their own part, they promise to contribute their utmost endeavours, even though they should sacrifice their fortunes and their lives in the cause of Christ." [1]

To read such a document as this, proceeding from Italy three hundred years ago, and to reflect that all these hopes and earnest desires were disappointed, the spark thus kindled extinguished, and the dawning light lost in deep and permanent darkness, which endures to this day; and then to compare the lot of some other countries, and particularly of our own highly favoured land—must be deeply affecting to every pious mind. Why has such mercy been

[1] Seck. iii. 68, 69. The whole paper, taken from the Saxon Archives, is highly interesting.

extended to us, while it was withheld from other people, though it appears, that among them were persons ready to make the most costly sacrifices for the sake of it? "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight!" A. D. 1533.

Another event which very considerably strengthened the cause of the reformation in Germany, about this time, was the restoration of Ulric duke of Würtemberg to his dominions. He had been expelled in the year 1519, on account of his violent and oppressive administration, and the house of Austria had got possession of his duchy. His long exile having obliterated the remembrance of his misconduct, which is said to have been "the effect rather of inexperience than of tyrannical disposition,"[1] he was become the object of general compassion: and, in the year 1534, the landgrave, his near relation, receiving aid from the king of France, (who was glad to embrace every opportunity of distressing the imperial family,) restored him by force of arms, defeating the troops of Ferdinand, under Philip, count palatine. Having the concurrence of Ulric's former subjects, the landgrave reinstated him in the authority, which is enjoyed by his family to this day.[2] In this expedition the landgrave was not supported by any of his protestant brethren; and his proceeding was strongly deprecated by Luther and Melancthon:[3] yet its issue and its effects alike surpassed, or even contradicted their expectations. Restoration of Ulric of Würtemberg. 1534.

Ulric being thus restored, Ferdinand, not daring to attack a prince whom all the protestant powers might be ready to support, thought

[1] Robertson, iii. 85.

[2] By the descendants of his brother George, (Hane, Hist. Ref. ii. 15.) not, as Robertson states, by those of Ulric.

[3] Seck. iii. 74.

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it best to make peace with him. About the same time also Ferdinand concluded a treaty with the elector of Saxony and his friends, at Cadan in Bohemia, whither the elector repaired for that purpose.[a] It was here agreed, that no violence should be offered to any one on account of religion; that the pacification of Nuremberg should be strictly observed; that all processes in the imperial chamber against protestants should be stopped; that the elector of Saxony and his confederates should acknowledge Ferdinand as king of the Romans—but that a decree should be introduced into the diet, enacting that in future no one should be raised to that dignity, without the previous and unanimous agreement of the electors to the necessity of such an appointment; that Ferdinand should procure investiture to be granted to the elector of Saxony, and the confirmation of his marriage with Sibylla of Cleves.[1]

Treaty of Cadan.

The dominions in which Ulric was thus re-established were extensive, and his power very considerable.[2] Previously to the year 1529, he had received an impression in favour of the reformation; and at that time, meeting Luther at the conferences at Marpurg, he conceived a high esteem and admiration for him. Hence, says Scultetus, "his first object on the recovery of his dominions was, to throw them open to the admission of the glory of Christ, and to

Reformation of Würtemberg;

[1] See above, p. 49—50. Sleid. 172, 173. Seck. iii. 74—76. See Robertson, iii. 85—87. It appears, however, that this treaty was not to be binding, unless the proposed decree respecting the election of a king of the Romans were passed within ten months; and from the failure of this condition, or from some other cause, it did not take effect, and the elector still disallowed Ferdinand's appointment. See Sleid. 173 and 248; and compare Seck. iii. 100 (d. e.), 150, and 360 (i).

[a] Seck. iii. 123.

introduce the preaching of his unadulterated word, and the administration of the sacraments according to his institution."[1] In establishing reformation he had recourse to the assistance of Snepfius of Marpurg, Blaurer of Constance, Brentius of Hall, in Suabia, and other divines. The two former differed respecting the eucharist: the duke chose to adhere to the Lutheran doctrine; and accordingly appointed Brentius superintendant and chief counsellor in matters of religion, throughout his dukedom.[2] Ulric further reformed and enriched the university of Tubingen, which had been founded by his ancestors, and procured the assistance of Melancthon, Grynæus, and Camerarius, to draw up proper regulations for its management.[2]— The country had been in great darkness under the Austrian government, and was now with much difficulty provided with ministers collected from various parts, especially as the duke had to contend with the several bishops of Constance, Augsburg, Spires, Worms, and Wurtzburg, under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction his dominions lay.[3] A. D. 1534.

The reformation of Würtemberg was accompanied or followed by that of Brunswick Calenberg, (whither Amsdorf was invited, from Magdeburg, by the duke Philip;) Hanover, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg; and of the cities of Augsburg, Bremen, and Hamburg.—In Pomerania the reformed doctrine had been early preached by John Knipstroh, a Franciscan monk, who had been dismissed from Francfort for preferring Luther's theses against indulgences to those of Tetzel in their favour; and Pomerania;

[1] Scultet. 189. [2] Ib. 190.
[3] Scultet. 189—191. Seck. iii. 122, 123.

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also by Bugenhagius, a native of the country. These preachers, however, had been driven away, under the government of the duke George, (who had been brought up with George of Saxony,) and the latter of them had settled at Wittemberg, where our attention has repeatedly been drawn to him. On the death of George, his son Philip, and his brother Barnimus adopted contrary measures. Knipstroh returned from Stralsund, whither he had retired; in the year 1534, reformation was decreed in the assembly of the states; and Bugenhagius was invited, with Paulus à Rhoda, from Stettin, to join with him in organizing and establishing the reformation. The two dukes were in 1536 admitted into the protestant league.[1]

Mecklenburg;

Magnus, one of the dukes of Mecklenburg, and bishop of Schwerin, is much commended for his piety, learning, and zeal in the cause of reformation. His father Henry had favoured the object, but his uncle Albert opposed it.

1539.

The elector of Saxony advised him rather to resign that part of his bishopric which was under Albert's dominion, "than sin by not discharging his duty to it."[2]—At Augsburg, the senate having prohibited the popish worship in all the churches except the cathedral, the priests quitted the city: on which reformed preachers were universally established. Considerable agitation and controversy, however, attended the change; the emperor was appealed to; and Christopher von Stadion (before distinguished at the period of the diet,[3]) was the prelate who maintained the cause of the priests against the citizens.—This change was at first effected rather under the conduct of Zuinglians than of

Augsburg; 1534.

1537.

[1] Seck. iii. 139—141. [2] Ib. 183. [3] Above p. 25.

Lutherans; but the confession of the latter was afterwards adopted—which gave great pleasure to Luther.[1] A. D. 1534.

The reformation in the city of Nordlingen in Suabia was carried on with extraordinary success. As early as the year 1522, Theobald Billicanus had been called to the office of preacher there, by the senate, who had obtained the right of patronage; and two years after, the reformed state of the city of Nuremberg being reported to them, they requested Billicanus to conform things at Nordlingen to the same model: and "with such mighty influence of the Holy Spirit, and such forcible eloquence" did he proceed in his work, that the evangelical doctrine was universally received, and, "with the exception of the stewards of certain abbots, who held estates there, not a professed papist remained in the city." The very monks, and that with the consent of their respective provincials, resigned their monasteries, with the revenues attached to them, stipulating only for life-annuities to themselves; and desired that, "as they were convinced from the divine word, that the state in which they had lived was displeasing to God, and perilous to their own souls, and those of others, the senate would commit the charge of all to Billicanus and other proper persons, and provide that henceforward nothing should be taught contrary to the sacred scriptures." Peter Steurer, prior of the Carmelites, and Jerome Jæger, warden of the Franciscans, are particularly mentioned as having adopted this course. Some popish observances, however, were retained longer than they should have been: but in the year 1536, Billicanus and Nordlingen. 1525.

[1] Seck. iii. 87, 124, 168, 169.

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1538.

having retired on account of his health, and Caspar Kautzius, formerly a monk, having succeeded him, the reformation was carried forward to perfection; and it is remarked, that it remained here less injured, amid the changes which followed the suppression of the league of Smalkald, than in most other places. [1]

Leanings towards reformation in Austria.

1538.

Even in Austria, as we have seen was also the case in Italy itself, considerable inclination towards reformation in religion was manifested. Pallavicini relates, that, when Aleander was sent legate from Paul III. to Ferdinand, he found "in the very entrance of Germany" (by which Seckendorf understands the Austrian provinces to be meant,) "as many as fifteen hundred cures vacant, through the scarcity of catholic priests." He attributes the blame of this to the inconstancy (vertigini) of the princes, which caused the people to be "blown about like leaves by the wind." He complains also of the indulgence of Ferdinand, who was "unwilling to alienate the Lutherans, and admitted them into the magistracy;" whence, "by their connivance, heresy increased." But Seckendorf observes, that a more true reason was, the wide dissemination of evangelical doctrine, and the desire after it excited even among the subjects of catholic princes. Indeed these two accounts are by no means at variance: and Pallavicini himself has confessed, that "the inferior clergy, who were less influenced by the prospect of advancement, easily concurred in the reformation." It appears, that, as the people were alienated by the vices of the priests, so the priests themselves grew ashamed of the habits

[1] Such is the account given, from authentic documents, by Seckendorf, iii. 183—186.

into which their forced celibacy, and other circumstances had betrayed them.[1] A. D. 1534.

Some notice is taken in Dr. Milner's last volume[2] of the reformation in Denmark, commenced under Christiern II, and, after his expulsion, under his successor Frederick, duke of Holstein. It was much opposed by the bishops and clergy. In 1527, Frederick assembled the senate of the kingdom at Odensee, and expressed his purposes to them in unequivocal and determined language. He told them, that it was well known what ignorance, superstition, and absurdity had passed under the sacred name of religion; that the Lutheran doctrine and worship had now taken root in the kingdom, so that they could not be eradicated without the danger of public ruin; and he pointed out to them the course proper to be adopted under existing circumstances. The senate concurred with him, and came to the following resolutions: "That no man should be disturbed for matters of conscience: that both the catholic and the Lutheran religion should be freely exercised, till a council should decide the questions at issue; and that the Lutherans should be protected against their enemies: that monks and nuns should be permitted to remain in their several establishments, or to quit them, and even to marry, if they thought good. Three years afterwards, articles and counter-articles were exhibited to the senate, by the catholics and the protestants;[3] but the former resolutions were adhered to: and the divines, George John, John Tausson, and Christian Shrock were encouraged in preaching the re-

That of Denmark completed.

1522.

1530.

[1] Pallav. iv. 8. Seck. iii. 182, 183.
[2] Milner, v. 128—133. (704—710.)
[3] They may be seen in Gerdesius.

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formed doctrine. In 1531, the king acceded to the Smalkaldic league. He died two years
1533. afterwards, and great disorders ensued. The clergy endeavoured to prevent the succession of his eldest son, Christiern, because of his known attachment to protestantism, and set up his younger brother—a mere child, whom they intended to educate in the Romish faith—against him; while some of the people proposed to restore the exiled, and now imprisoned
1536. monarch, Christiern II. Christiern III, however, prevailed, took Copenhagen after a siege of twelve months, and was established in the
1537. throne. He imprisoned, and afterwards publicly accused of treasonable practices, all the seven bishops of the kingdom, and produced evidence against them. They were deprived, and episcopacy, as it had hitherto existed, with powers and revenues that rendered it highly formidable to the crown itself, was abolished. Bugenhagius, who was invited from Wittemberg, placed the crown upon the king's head, drew up for the kingdom a scheme of ecclesiastical order, and ordained seven superintendants in the room of the deposed bishops. These superintendants were, indeed, still commonly denominated bishops; but they held no courts, and possessed no temporal power or preëminence.—This change is said to have been more than Luther approved, as it certainly was more than would have been contemplated, but for the violent proceedings of the bishops themselves.—This revolution was completed in the year 1539.—Bugenhagius reported, "that he never found greater desire of hearing the word of God, than in Denmark: that the people assembled on ordinary days, in the winter season, before it was light, and on holi-

days they had religious services throughout the day." A. D. 1534.

Frederick, during his reign, had publicly ordered, "that the primary doctrine of evangelical religion, concerning justification by faith, should be proclaimed from all the pulpits throughout his kingdom." Tausson appears to have enjoyed high favour with the citizens of Copenhagen, and in other places. After the death of Frederick, the clergy procured a sentence of banishment against him: but the people resolutely opposed its execution, and were not to be quieted till it was rescinded by the senate.—The reformation of Holstein still, as it had done before, kept pace with that of Denmark.[1]

It is not to be supposed that all the proceedings even of upright men, amid scenes of so much violence, should be approved when calmly reviewed, either by us or by themselves: we should find it infinitely more easy to censure others, than to act rightly ourselves in such trying circumstances: but the result, which has made Denmark a protestant kingdom to this day, may well deserve to be contemplated with pleasure and gratitude.

From these notices of the progress of the reformation, we may proceed to some other miscellaneous topics.

The year 1534 was distinguished by one of the most extraordinary bursts of fanatical extravagance and fury, that ever disgraced the Anabaptists of Munster.

[1] Seck. iii. 88, 99, and 241—243, ex Chytræo, et Conr. Aslaci Hist. Reform. in Dan. et Norw. The account of all the transactions relative to Denmark is to be found more at length in Gerdesius, iii. 338—426.

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history of mankind. A body of anabaptists[1] seized the imperial city of Munster, and fortified themselves in it. They made John Boccold, a journeyman tailor, commonly called John of Leyden, their king; who was to become "the monarch of the earth," and to march forth for the destruction of all other kings and rulers, "giving quarter to none but the multitude, who were lovers of justice." They retained possession of the city considerably more than a year, promulgating the wildest principles, and indulging in the most outrageous practices: and it was not without a confederacy of the German princes against them, under the leading of the bishop of Munster, that the city was at length reduced, and the insurgents suppressed. But the particulars of such a story belong not to this history: it must suffice just to have mentioned the fact, and to refer the reader to places in which he may find the account in a more detailed, or a more popular, and at the same time more philosophic form.[2]

Correspondence with England.

During the period of this chapter, and especially in the years 1535 and 1539, much com-

[1] Dr. Milner has properly cautioned his readers not to confound the seditious sect of anabaptists, of the era of the reformation, with the dissenters, called baptists, of the present day. iv. 517. (501.)

[2] Sleid. lib. x. Du Pin, vi. 130—133. Robertson, iii. 71—85. The reader may compare the account of the fanatical prophets, Munzer, Stork &c. in Milner, v. 44, 496, &c. (614, 1095, &c.)—Luther's observation upon this "ill-contrived farce at Munster" was, that it was "the work of some raw unpractised devil;" and that they had great reason to be thankful that "a devil of greater parts and knowledge—one that understood law and divinity," was not let forth against them. He contended, however, that the way to preserve or reclaim men from such delusions was, to enlighten their minds by the word of God, and not to withhold that word from them, as some would have done. Sleid. 199, 200.

munication took place between the court of England and the German protestants. Mutual letters and embassies passed; and Henry VIII corresponded personally, not only with the princes, but also with Melancthon. At the former of these periods, it was an object with him to obtain the sanction of the protestant divines to his intended divorce from Catharine of Arragon, (the emperor's aunt,) and to check, by means of the protestant princes, the effect of Charles's resentment against him for that measure. He was willing, therefore, to become the 'defender of the faith' of the Augsburg Confession, with some alterations; for the purpose of arranging which he desired to have commissioners sent over to him, and himself particularly invited Melancthon. The protestants, however, were shy of him, distrusting his professions in favour of reformation, and being determined to concur in no offensive measures against the emperor, so long as he suffered them to enjoy their religion unmolested. Their divines did, indeed, examine the question concerning Henry's divorce: but the conclusion to which they came was not favourable to his views. It was to this effect, "That, though it was not lawful to marry the wife of a brother, either during his life or after his death, yet, when such a marriage had actually taken place, they could not pronounce that it ought to be dissolved:" and Luther scrupled not to declare, "that Henry would violate higher and more sacred obligations in divorcing his wife, than he had done in marrying his brother's widow."[1]

A. D. 1534.

1535.

[1] Sleid. 188, 189, 205, 206. Seck. iii. 110—113, 179—181. Two papers of Luther's on the subject of Henry's marriage are given by Buddeus: Epist. Luth. pp. 289, 325.

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1539.

In the latter of the years above mentioned, Henry promulgated his famous law of the "six articles," establishing, under the penalty of death, the reception of many of the principal tenets and practices of the Romish superstition; after which the elector would scarcely hear of any further communication with him: and, though Bucer withheld his concurrence, Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagius, and Melancthon, on being consulted, pronounced it to be "a new device of Satan, that, when the power of the pope failed, kings should thus take upon them to model religion according to their own fancies:" and that Henry should be "let alone, as one who had been sufficiently admonished, and sinned wilfully."—Luther also in private correspondence with the elector observed, He was "glad that Henry had thrown off the mask. He had demanded to be head and defender of the gospel in Germany: away with such a head! His power and wealth had so inflated him, that he would be adored as a god. He is fit," added the reformer, "for a pope himself; so crafty and designing is he!"[1]—Melancthon, whose boldness appears to have risen in proportion to the disappointment which he felt at Henry's conduct, wrote directly to the king himself a long and faithful expostulation.[2]

[1] Seck. iii. 224—228.

[2] Melanc. Epist. i. 28: Pezel. Consil. Melanc. i. 343—355. I have seen few things more honourable to Melancthon than this epistle. With the courtesy and address which were becoming, it combines a high degree of boldness and faithfulness of censure. The measure itself he considers as monstrous, in some points going beyond what had elsewhere been heard of. He doubts not that the bishops were the authors of it; but it was the king's sanction which gave it validity: and all the German protestants lamented that he should become the

Falsehoods of the grossest description, and, to support them, forged papers of great length, purporting minutely to describe essential changes which had taken place in the sentiments of Luther and of the elector, were at this time circulated both in Germany and in England. In the latter country, Seckendorf conceives that they were intended to smooth the way to Henry's projected law.[1] A. D. 1534.

The proceedings of the king of France at this period, with respect both to the German pro- Proceedings of the King of France.

instrument of other men's cruelty and impiety. How remote was this from the hopes which had been formed of him! They had trusted that his example would have excited other princes to lay aside their cruelty, and correct their errors: but now they received a severe wound from his hand, and the hostility of other kings was confirmed, the obstinacy of the wicked increased, and old errors of portentous magnitude established by his means. The writer heard that Latimer, Cranmer, and other pious men, true members of Christ, were in bonds for the gospel's sake: he prayed God to give them strength and courage worthy of Christians. Nothing more honourable or blessed could befal them, than to die for the sake of such palpable truth, as they maintained against the recent law: but God forbid that the king's hand should be stained with the blood of such men! that the light of the church in England should be put out! that impiety and the proud and cruel malice of the enemies of Christ should be gratified! that antichrist should be made glad—who saw the bishops complying with the king's will for a time, but knew that they were bound for ever to the Roman pontiff. Henry, he says, reprobated the tyranny of Rome, and pronounced the pope to be antichrist, yet supported and strengthened the very nerves and sinews of his power!—He indignantly exposes the falshood and pernicious tendency of the dogmas which Henry had thus sanctioned by law, and conjures him not to pollute his conscience by defending such articles. They were idolatrous and impious—the very points which the pope would wish to establish, should he ever get a council together. "Recognize," he says, the snare of the devil: stand not among the enemies of Christ, who are stained with idolatry and blood, and on whom God will assuredly execute vengeance."

[1] Seck. iii. 228—230.

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testants, and those within his own dominions, may be first briefly stated from Dr. Robertson, and then in some parts enlarged upon from the more ancient authorities.

Disappointed of the assistance which he had expected from other quarters, in the war that he was about to commence against the emperor, Francis was "led to solicit, with 1534. greater earnestness, the aid of the protestant princes associated by the league of Smalkald. That he might the more easily acquire their confidence, he endeavoured to accommodate himself to their predominant passion, zeal for their religious tenets. He affected a wonderful moderation with regard to the points in dispute; he permitted Bellay,[1] his envoy in Germany, to explain his sentiments concerning some of the most important articles, in terms not far different from those used by the protestants; he even condescended to invite Melancthon, whose gentle manners and pacific spirit distinguished him among the reformers, to visit Paris, that by his assistance he might concert the most proper measures for reconciling the contending sects, which so unhappily divided the church. These concessions must be considered rather as the arts of policy, than the result of conviction; for, whatever impression the new opinions had made on his sisters, the queen of Navarre and the duchess of Ferrara, the gaiety of Francis's own temper, and his love of pleasure allowed him little leisure to examine theological controversies.

"But soon after he lost all the fruits of this disingenuous artifice, by a step very inconsistent with his declarations to the German

[1] William de Bellay of Langey, a highly accomplished person, and "one of the ablest negociators in France."

princes. This step, however, the prejudices of the age, and the religious sentiments of his own subjects, rendered it necessary for him to take. His close union with the king of England, an excommunicated heretic; his frequent negociations with the German protestants; but, above all, his giving public audience to an envoy from sultan Solyman, had excited violent suspicions concerning the sincerity of his attachment to religion. To have attacked the emperor, who, on all occasions, made high pretensions to zeal in defence of the catholic faith, and at the very juncture when he was preparing for his expedition against Barbarossa," (a founder of the piratical states of Barbary,) "which" expedition "was then considered as a pious enterprise; could not have failed to confirm such unfavourable sentiments with regard to Francis, and called on him to vindicate himself by some extraordinary demonstration of his reverence for the established doctrines of the church. The indiscreet zeal of some of his subjects, who had imbibed the protestant opinions, furnished him with such an occasion as he desired. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the doctrines and rites of the popish church. Six of the persons concerned in this rash action were discovered and seized. The king, in order to avert the judgments which it was supposed their blasphemies might draw down upon the nation, appointed a solemn procession. The holy sacrament was carried through the city in great pomp; Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles marched in order behind. In the presence of this numerous assembly, the

A. D. 1534.

Persecution in France.

Jan. 1535.

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king, accustomed to express himself on every subject in strong and animated language, declared that, if one of his hands were infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other, and would not spare even his own children, if found guilty of that crime. As a dreadful proof of his being in earnest, the six unhappy persons were publicly burned before the procession was finished, with circumstances of the most shocking barbarity attending their execution.

"The princes of the league of Smalkald, filled with resentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he offered to protect in Germany those very tenets, which he persecuted with such rigour in his own dominions; so that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his master, or apologizing for his conduct, made but little impression upon them. They considered likewise, that the emperor, who had hitherto never employed violence against the doctrines of the reformers, nor even given them much molestation in their progress, was now bound by the agreement" of Nuremberg "not to disturb such as had embraced the new opinions; and the protestants wisely regarded this as a more certain and immediate security, than the precarious and distant hopes with which Francis endeavoured to allure them.....Upon all these accounts the protestants refused to assist the French king in any hostile attempt against the emperor. The elector of Saxony, the most zealous among them, in order to avoid giving any umbrage to Charles, would not permit Melancthon to visit the court of France, although that reformer, flattered perhaps by the invitation of so great a monarch, or hoping that his

presence there might be of signal advantage to the protestant cause, discovered a strong inclination to undertake the journey."[1] A. D. 1535.

It appears that the posting of the obnoxious placards was occasioned by a previous change of measures, with respect to the professors of the protestant doctrine. Under the patronage of the queen of Navarre, they had been allowed to teach publicly. Their success excited jealousy in the doctors of the Sorbonne, who procured that they should be first restricted to private teaching, and then forbidden to teach at all.[2]

It is by no means to be supposed that the six persons committed to the flames, while the king of France himself looked on, were the only ones that suffered. "Both those," says Sleidan, "who were seized upon information, and those who were apprehended upon mere suspicion, were burned after a barbarous manner,"—some to death, and some only for torture.[3] John Sturmius, writing to Melancthon from Paris, mentions that eighteen had thus suffered, and that many more were then in prison, expecting the like treatment.[4] Maimbourg styles this a "most just execution!"[5]

On the subject of Melancthon's proposed visit to Paris, to which he was himself inclined, and which Luther earnestly pressed, the elector appears to have exercised a more sound judgment than either of them. Not only did he feel that it would give ground of umbrage to the emperor, and that no reliance was to be

Melancthon invited to Paris.

[1] Robertson, iii. 111—114. [2] Scultet. 194.
[3] Sleid. 175. [4] Scultet. 194.
[5] In Seck. iii. 102. See Sleid 175, 178, 183, 185. Seck. iii. 104.

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placed upon Francis's professions, but he also distrusted, and not without reason, the firmness of Melancthon in the circumstances in which he was about to place himself. That reformer had not only written to cardinal Bellay, bishop of Paris, and brother to Francis's envoy in Germany, that "their sentiments were very nearly the same," but had sent into France a paper, containing his sentiments on the way in which he thought all the main points at issue might be adjusted,[1] and in effect offering to concede, for the conciliation of Francis, much more than the protestants at Augsburg would hear of conceding, for the conciliation of the emperor and all the other powers there opposed to them. Whether, therefore, the elector was acquainted with the contents of this paper, or whether he judged only from the tone and tenour of Melancthon's feelings at this time, he wrote concerning him to Pontanus in the following terms: "I much fear that, from anxiety to gain the king, Philip should propose things which Martin and the other divines would not grant, and that hence new controversies should arise. I seem to myself to perceive indications of this. It appears also not unlikely that the French do not act with sincerity towards him; but, perceiving his facility, wish to sift him, and then to reproach him as inconstant. Those in France, who appear to favour us, are rather *Erasmian* than *evangelical*."

Contrary, however, to what Maimbourg states, it appears that the invitation of Melancthon into France was no hasty measure, into which the king was drawn by his sisters,

[1] The paper is given by Pezelius, Consil. Melanc. i. 224—237.

and which was no sooner adopted than rejected again, but a design seriously formed and for some time persisted in.[1] A. D. 1537.

Proceedings of the Pope.

The proceedings of the Roman pontiff, some of which were of an unusual kind, deserve likewise to be related. Soon after his accession to the papal chair, Paul III. had proposed to call a general council at Mantua; and, though the king of France disapproved the place, and the king of England, as well as the German protestants, refused to own a council, so called, as a legal and free representative of the church, he adhered to his purpose, and issued a bull, on the second of June 1536, appointing the council to assemble on the twenty-third of May in the year following. He nominated three cardinals to preside in his name; enjoined all Christian princes to countenance the assembly by their authority; and invited the prelates of every nation to attend in person. "This summons of a council, an assembly which, from its nature and intention, demanded quiet times as well as pacific dispositions, at the very juncture when the emperor was on his march towards France, and ready to involve a great part of Europe in the confusions of war, appeared to every person extremely unseasonable. It was intimated, however, to all the different courts by nuncios despatched of purpose." "But some unexpected difficulties being started by the duke of Mantua, both about the right of jurisdiction over the persons who resorted to the council,[2]

[1] Camerar. Vit. Melanc. § 47, 48. Seck. iii. 107—110.

[2] "The pope, a very wise man, who seldom received any answer which he had not foreseen, was much amazed, and answered the duke's messenger, that he would never have believed that his lord .... would have denied him that, of which never any made doubt before .... namely, to be su-

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and the security of his capital amid such a concourse of strangers, the pope, after fruitless endeavours to adjust these, first prorogued the council for some months, and afterwards transferring the place of meeting to Vicenza, in the Venetian territories, appointed it to assemble on the first of May in the following year. As neither the emperor nor the French king, who had not then come to any accommodation, would permit their subjects to repair thither, not a single prelate appeared at the day prefixed; and the pope, that his authority might not become altogether contemptible by so many ineffectual efforts to convoke that assembly, put off the meeting by an indefinite prorogation."[1]

1538.

1539.

His Commission for Reformation.

In the midst of these proceedings, however, "that he might not seem to have turned his whole attention towards a reformation which he was not able to accomplish, while he neglected that which was in his own power," he professed to give efficiency to a commission of a certain number of cardinals and bishops, which he had three years before appointed,[2] "with full authority to inquire into the abuses and corruptions of the Roman court, and to propose the most effectual method of removing them. This scrutiny, undertaken with reluctance, was carried on slowly and with remissness. All defects were touched with a gentle hand, afraid of probing too deep, or discovering too

1537.

preme judge of the clergy: . . . that in the council none should be present but the ecclesiastics, who are exempted from the secular power, both themselves and their families: which is so clear, that the doctors of divinity affirm, *that the very concubines of priests are of ecclesiastical jurisdiction!!*" F. Paul, 77.

[1] Robertson, iii. 161—163. [2] F. Paul, 78.

much. But even by this partial examination, many irregularities were detected, and many enormities exposed to light, while the remedies, which they suggested as most proper, were either inadequate or were never applied. The report and resolution of these deputies, though intended to be kept secret, were transmitted by some accident into Germany, and, being immediately made public, afforded ample matter for reflection and triumph to the protestants. On the one hand, they demonstrated the necessity of a reformation in the head as well as the members of the church, and even pointed out many of the corruptions against which Luther and his followers had remonstrated with the greatest vehemence. They shewed, on the other hand, that it was vain to expect this reformation from ecclesiastics themselves, who, as Luther strongly expressed it, piddled at curing warts, while they overlooked or confirmed ulcers." [1]

A. D. 1537.

To this statement, taken from Dr. Robertson, some additions must be made, which are consonant to the design of our history, though unnecessary to his.

Most of the points adverted to by the pope's commissioners were little more than of an external kind. None of the corrupt doctrines and principles of the church of Rome, which were the main source of its great practical errors, and against which, accordingly, Luther had especially directed the powerful artillery of his vehement declamation, and irresistible scriptural arguments, were here touched upon. Pallavicini, who yet thinks these regularly deputed reformers in some degree "visionary,"

[1] Robertson iii. 88, 161—164.

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and observes, that "angelic purity is not to be expected in an administration carried on by frail mortals," glories that "no charge was brought by them of false doctrine in the church, of corruption of the sacred writings, of unjust laws, crafty policy, pretended sanctity, and the toleration of vice—points on which the Lutherans were continually barking."[1] They complained chiefly that "flatterers had debarred the access of truth to the ears of the pontiffs, and stretched prerogative too far, so as to tell their Holinesses that they were absolute lords of all things, and might do whatever they pleased;" that hence had arisen inordinate abuses in granting spiritual privileges for money, whereas, the pope having received all "freely," it might be expected that he should communicate it on the same terms: that by this means persons were admitted to bishoprics, who had neither learning nor probity to recommend them, and oftentimes while they were mere boys: that, in conferring ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, "the advantage of the incumbent was chiefly considered, without taking any care of the flock:" that cardinals were improperly made bishops, whereas the two offices were incompatible; that of cardinals being "constantly to attend his Holiness, and assist him in the government of the universal church; that of bishops, to feed the flock which God had committed to their charge:" and, moreover, that thus the cardinals were seen "running after princes' courts to get bishoprics, which made them servile, so that they dared not speak their minds freely when occasion required:" that "there were a great many ill

[1] Pallav. iv. 5.

examples among those styled "the religious:" that in nunneries, where confession and other religious offices were left to the conduct of the monks, a great deal of open and notorious lewdness was committed, and a scandalous example given to the encouragement of vice; so that the monks must be trusted with the management of these houses no longer: that in many places, especially in Italy, sundry ungodly questions were freely bandied about, and disputed, not only in universities, but even in churches, which custom is very much to be blamed, and must be restrained: that the same superintendence must be exercised over printers and booksellers." And here the reader will be amused to find what is the only pernicious work specified:—"There is a book commonly read in schools, called Erasmus's Colloquies, in which there are many things that may make a dangerous impression on the understandings of young and unwary people, and pervert a floating and unsettled age, which wants a sufficient ballast of principles and gravity to keep it steady. This book, therefore, and others of the same kind must be prohibited in all schools." They complain likewise, that persons in holy orders were frequently allowed to marry; whereas here "rigour and restraint were the more to be insisted on, because the Lutherans allowed marriage to all persons without distinction." The sin of simony was grown "so customary and reigning in the church, that most people were not ashamed of it."—They then advert to the immediate seat of the pope and bishop of Rome; where they censure the multitudes of mean and beggarly priests, whose very appearance disgraced their profession; and the "shameless strumpets," who were

A. D. 1537.

Erasmus's Colloquies prohibited.

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permitted "to dwell in stately houses, to ride upon mules, through the most public places, at noon day, and have part of the retinue ("familiares") of cardinals of the first quality to wait upon them. Truly," they declare, "we must needs say, we never saw such marks of dissoluteness and debauchery in any other town, as in that which ought to be a pattern for all the world to imitate."[1]

Observations on the measures of the Commission.

All this is very important as a confession, from the most unexceptionable witnesses, of the evils which prevailed: but how different the reformation at which it feebly pointed was, from that at which Luther aimed, will be obvious to every intelligent reader of this history. The pope's commissioners did but propose to remove a little of the grosser pollution from "the outside," while all "within" might remain as impure as ever: but the Saxon reformer and his coadjutors strove, by bringing to light and applying the true principles of the gospel of Christ, "to purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God." To name only one particular: the difference is strikingly manifest in the way in which the two parties treat the subject of confession, which comes under the notice of both. The former complain only of the gross licentiousness to which it was often made subservient: but all this might have been corrected, and the great complaint brought against it by the latter have continued in full force. Luther ever assails it as the "carnificina animarum," "the rack of consciences," which were harassed and tortured by it, past endurance, in exact proportion to their

[1] Sleid. 233—238. F. Paul, 78, 79. Seck. iii. 163, 164. Du Pin, vi. 157—159.

sensibility and strictness—while men imagined that there could be no forgiveness of sins which were not specifically confessed, and at the same time felt how small a proportion of their own failures and offences they could thus trace and acknowledge. A. D. 1537.

Nothing was to be expected from a reformation thus characterized: "the tree" itself must be "made good" before its "fruit" could become so: but even the little which was proposed was never attempted to be carried into execution. The pope referred the report of his commissioners to the consistory of cardinals; where Schönberg, cardinal and archbishop of Capua, "who was believed to have been deputed by the pope for the purpose," zealously opposed all reformation; urging among other arguments, that "the Lutherans would boast, that they had forced the pope into it;" and also, that "the very change would be a confession that the things altered had been justly reprehended by those heretics—which would prove a great abetting of their whole doctrine." Cardinal Caraffa well answered him, that it was "a rule in Christian actions, that, as evil is not to be done that good may follow, so no obligatory good is to be omitted for fear that evil may ensue." [1] Yet the result was, a resolution to proceed no further in the business. Its result.

The report of the commissioners, Father Paul says, "was sent into Germany by cardinal Schönberg, which some thought was done with the pope's consent, that it might appear there was some real design entertained at Rome, and some pains taken, for reformation." It was presently published, and was freely animad- Animadversions of Luther.

[1] F. Paul, 79.

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verted upon both by John Sturmius of Strasburg, and by Luther. "In Luther's book," Sleidan observes, "a man need only look on the cut in the frontispiece, to understand his argument; for the pope is represented sitting upon a high throne, and several of the cardinals about him, who, with foxes' tails tied at the end of poles, are busily employed in brushing away the cobwebs all around."—Speaking of their prohibition of Erasmus's Colloquies, Luther wishes the author were yet alive for their sakes; "he would answer them according to their deserts, and expose to the world what sort of reformation they were likely to effect." [1]

The case of Erasmus strikingly teaches us, how vain it is to think of conciliating ambitious men, and particularly ambitious and political churchmen, by truckling to them in our general conduct, while there are parts of their system which we cannot bring ourselves to countenance. We must make up our minds, either to go all their lengths, or to lose our characters with such men entirely, and to be really much less respected by them, than their open and consistent opponents are.

The Protestants refuse the proposed Council.

We have seen that, when the pope issued his summons for a council, he communicated it to the different courts by nuncios despatched on purpose. With the nuncio sent into Germany (Vorstius, bishop of Aix,) the emperor, who was "willing to try every art in order to persuade Paul to depart from the neutrality which he preserved between him and Francis," [2] deputed Heldo, his vice-chancellor, "instructing him to second all the nuncio's representations, and to enforce them with the whole weight of

[1] Seck. iii. 164.

[2] Robertson.

the imperial authority." The protestant leaders gave them audience at Smalkald, where they had assembled in a body to receive them. But, previously to their thus assembling together, they had made it a matter of serious deliberation, whether or not they should at all appear in the council by their representatives. The opinion of Luther was asked on the question, and he, with the divines of Wittemberg generally, was in favour of their appearing. He thought little danger was to be apprehended; for that the council (if indeed it were ever held,) would be poorly and thinly attended; and the once formidable papal excommunications, said he, "have fallen into contempt, since they were hurled against me without effect." He urged, that to refuse altogether to appear would be to bring upon themselves the entire odium of preventing the further extension of reformation, and the preservation of unity: that, moreover, they were labouring under the most extravagant misrepresentations,[1] which something might be there done to remove: and that, at all events it might be worth while to appear, as they were invited, for the purpose of entering a protest against the council and its proceedings.—Here again, however, the princes seem to have been the more discerning politicians, and to have exercised the sounder judgment. They anticipated more harm than good from their appearance: they observed, that sentence had, in effect, been pronounced against them in the very summons, which declared the council to be called "for the suppression of heresy," meaning, no doubt, that with which they were charged: that, if they

A. D. 1537.

[1] The same that were mentioned above, p. 101.

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appeared, it would be instantly contended that they had acknowledged the authority of the council, and of the pope, (under whose auspices it was called,) to decide on the matters at issue: and that then they would be at once outvoted and condemned, by an assembly from which, it would be affirmed, there lay no appeal.[1] The result therefore was, as already intimated, that they "unanimously refused to acknowledge a council summoned in the name and by the authority of the pope alone; in which he assumed the sole right of presiding; which was to be held in a city, not only far distant from Germany, but subject to a prince, who was a stranger to them, and closely connected with the court of Rome; and to which their divines could not repair with safety, especially after their doctrines had been stigmatized, in the very bull of convocation, with the name of heresy. These and many other objections against the council, which appeared to them unanswerable, they enumerated in a large manifesto, which they published in vindication of their conduct."[2]

Melancthon afterwards acknowledges, that he believes there was "some danger" in the course he had recommended, though he thought it the more manly and honourable of the two.[3]

It may be observed, that the protestants assigned as one reason why the pope ought not to preside in the council, that he was himself a party accused: "We arraign him for idolatry and heresy; and, when he is impeached for such crimes, the church, and not himself, is

[1] Sleid. 212, &c. 221, 226. Seck. iii. 143—148.
[2] Robertson, iii. 162. See Sleid. 226—230.
[3] Epist. iv. 196, to Camerarius.

to examine and give sentence in the cause."[1] They also made it a matter of serious deliberation, whether they should at all receive a nuncio from the pope; and the elector strongly inclined to warn him off their territories, when he was understood to be approaching.[2] It cannot therefore be matter of surprise, that Maimbourg should charge them with insolence and presumption.[3] A. D. 1537.

Proceedings of Heldo, the Imperial Envoy.

Heldo's proceedings in Germany were not confined to the subject of the council. The interpretation of the pacification of Nuremberg, as it respected the processes of the imperial chamber, and the admission of fresh members into the protestant league, particularly came under discussion. The former were exceedingly vexatious to the protestants. By the articles of the pacification, the chamber was indeed restrained from interposing its authority in any causes relating to religion: but that tribunal would not allow that questions respecting ecclesiastical property, transferred from professors of the 'old' to professors of the 'new' religion, with various others in which the protestants were particularly interested, came under the description of religious causes: and on such grounds as these the city of Hamburgh and the dukes of Pomerania were fined, the city of Minden outlawed,[4] and many other severe sentences pronounced. On neither of the points in debate, however, would Heldo give any satisfaction to the protestants: on the contrary, they contended that his interpretations, if admitted, would nullify the pacification altogether.[5]

[1] Sleid. 228. [2] Seck. iii. 143, 144. [3] Ibid.
[4] Seck. iii. 88, 141, 176. Sleid. 295. [5] Seck. iii. 149, 150.

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The Holy Alliance. 1538.

Nor was this all. Perceiving the advantages that the protestants derived from the league, by which they were all united in one firm body, Heldo busied himself among the different princes, in forming a counter-confederation, which was styled the 'Holy Alliance,' for the support of the catholic religion; professing to act, in this measure, under the authority of the emperor and the king of the Romans: but whether he really had this authority, or not, has never been ascertained, as the emperor found it expedient shortly after to disown his proceedings. The catholic league was entirely uncalled for, since none could pretend that the professors of that religion were exposed to the same danger that the protestants were: and accordingly it obtained but few subscribers. The archbishops of Mentz and Salzburg, (the former, however, only in his character of archbishop of Magdeburg,) William and Lewis, dukes of Bavaria, George, duke of Saxony, and Eric and Henry, dukes of Brunswick, (of whom Henry had now become the great instigator of all measures against the protestants,) were the only persons that acceded to it.[1]

Alarm of the Protestants.

This league was to have remained a profound secret: but the rumour of it soon got abroad, and was confirmed by some letters from Henry of Brunswick to Heldo and the archbishop of Mentz, which were intercepted by the landgrave.[2] The consequence was, that this, added to other unsatisfactory and suspicious proceedings, excited great alarm in the minds of the protestants. They were ready to imagine that the emperor was about to put in execution some formidable plan for their extirpation, or at least

[1] Sleid. 245. Seck. iii. 143, 160, 171--173.
[2] Sleid. 246. Seck. iii. 200, 204.

for the suppression of their opinions and their religious liberties. They therefore held frequent meetings, and were proposing to raise the contingents of men and money which their league obliged them respectively to furnish. A. D. 1538.

Allayed by the Convention of Francfort, 1539.

"It was not long, however, before they were convinced that their apprehensions were without foundation, and that the emperor, to whom repose was absolutely necessary after efforts so much beyond his strength in the war with France, had no thoughts of disturbing the tranquillity of Germany. As a proof of this, at an interview with the protestant princes in Francfort, his ambassadors agreed, that all concessions in their favour, particularly those contained in the pacification of Nuremberg, should continue in force for fifteen months; that during this period all proceedings of the imperial chamber against them should be suspended; that a conference should be held by a few divines of each party, in order to discuss the points in controversy, and to propose articles of accommodation, which should be laid before the next diet. Though the emperor, that he might not irritate the pope, who remonstrated against the first part of this agreement as impolitic, and against the latter as an impious encroachment upon his prerogative, never formally ratified this convention, it was observed with considerable exactness, and greatly strengthened the basis of that ecclesiastical liberty, for which the protestants contended."[1]

This Convention of Francfort, made on the nineteenth of April, 1539, we fix as the limit of the period now under consideration. Several

[1] Robertson iii. 166. Sleid. 247, 248. Seck. iii. 173, 175, 200—205.

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additional particulars, however, falling within that period, and most of them bearing a pretty direct reference to Luther himself, remain yet to be related. It has been thought adviseable to reserve and throw them together, rather than to mix them up with the details of more general history: and we will now assign them a distinct chapter, synchronizing with that which we here close.

CHAPTER IV.

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

Luther's interview with Vergerio.

AMONG the agents whom the pope sent into Germany on the subject of a council, Peter Paul Vergerio, subsequently bishop of Capo d' Istria, who had also been nuncio to king Ferdinand at the period of the diet of Augsburg, held an eminent place. This person eventually became a protestant, and was himself subjected to persecution for his religion; and in that view he will hereafter claim our attention; but at present he was a willing instrument of the pope's insincere and artful proceedings. He was chiefly distinguished for skill in the civil and canon law. Among other things, he was instructed to endeavour, if possible, to bring over Luther and Melancthon, or any other of the more eminent protestant divines.[2] Accordingly, on his arrival at Wittemberg, he sent for Luther. Very different accounts are given of their interview: but that delivered by Father Paul, and that inserted in Luther's German works,[3] though independent documents, mutually corroborate each other. The latter is written in a somewhat sportive style, and is more brief than the other. We will present it first.

1535.

Account from Luther's works.

Vergerio, it states, came to Wittemberg on the evening of November 6, 1535, with a splen-

[2] Sleid. 175. F. Paul, 72.

[3] Edit. Altenb. vi. 492.

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did retinue, and was conducted to the castle with all due honour by the provincial governor. The next morning Luther sent for his barber at an early hour, and told him, he was summoned to attend the nuncio of his holiness the pope, and he would by no means go in dishabille, for he wished to look young, that his enemies might think he had a long time yet to live. He then put on his best suit, and a golden ornament (a present from the elector,) about his neck, and remarked, when his attendant expressed some surprise, "This is the way in which we must deal with these foxes and serpents." Then getting into a chariot which had been sent for him from the castle, accompanied by Bugenhagius, he said, "Here go the pope of Germany and cardinal Pomeranus!" Being introduced, he conversed with the nuncio, among other things, on the subject of the council. He said, it was not seriously proposed; the pope did but play with them: and, if it were held, it would busy itself only about trifles, such as tonsures and vestments, and not upon faith, and justification, and bringing Christians to the unity of the spirit and of doctrine—for this would not suit their purpose. He added, that he and his friends felt such assurance of what they believed, as not to need the determination of a council, though others might do it, who groaned under the oppression of men who did not themselves know what they believed. "But," "said he, "call your council; God willing, I will attend it, though I should be burned by it." Vergerio asked where he would have it held. "Where you please," he replied; "at Mantua, at Padua, at Florence, or any where else." Vergerio asked was he willing it should be at Bologna? He inquired to whom that

city then belonged; and on being told, "To the pope," "Gracious heaven," he exclaimed, "has the pope seized that place too?—Well, I will come even thither."—The nuncio, in a courtier-like manner, said something of the pope's visiting Wittemberg. "Let him come," said Luther; "we shall be glad to see him." "But," said Vergerio, "would you have him come with an army, or unattended?" "As he pleases," replied Luther; "we shall be ready for him either way." The nuncio then inquired whether the ministers in Saxony were consecrated. Luther replied, "Certainly: as the pope will not consecrate them for us, here sits a bishop" (pointing to Pomeranus,) "whom we have consecrated."—"Much more conversation," says the author of the narrative, "passed between them, in which Luther fully explained his views, with the utmost freedom, and even, where the case required, with sharpness of remark." On taking leave, Vergerio said, "See that you be ready for the council." "I will come," replied Luther, "with my life in my hand."[1] A. D. 1535.

The reader cannot but be struck with the characteristic address here displayed. The reformer is perfectly at his ease, and assumes the superior ground; which of right belonged to him in every respect except that of external rank; and he was able fully to maintain what he thus assumed.

It may be observed, that Luther seems never to have concerned himself, so much as many did, in what place the council should be held: the great point with him was, that the scriptures alone should be the rule of judgment. If

[1] Seck. iii. 95.

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that were obtained, he had such confidence in his cause, as to be willing to concede every thing of a mere circumstantial kind.[1]

From Father Paul.

Father Paul's account of this interview is more copious, and delivered in a more serious style. It is in substance as follows.

"Vergerio treated with Luther very courteously, enlarging much on the council and other topics. He assured him that the pope and cardinals respected him highly, and were infinitely grieved for the loss of one, who, had he employed himself in the cause of God and the apostolical see, might have done them inestimable service: that the pope blamed the harshness of Cajetan and the severity of Leo in their dealings with him: that for himself, (the nuncio,) as he did not profess divinity, he would not dispute with him on the existing controversies, but that by common reason he could shew him, that it would be advantageous to reunite himself with the head of the church; for that, seeing his religion, which had come to light only eighteen years before, had raised innumerable sects and popular seditions, attended with the death or banishment of great numbers, it could not be concluded that it came from God: that it demonstrated too blind a self-love for a man to trouble the whole world in order to disseminate his own opinions: that, if he could not but adopt them, it was sufficient for his own conscience and salvation to keep them to himself: that the confusion produced had become so great, that a remedy could no longer be deferred, and that it was in Luther's power to make it easy, if he would be present at the council, and treat with charity, and

[1] Seck. iii. 164 (l).

oblige the pope—who was a munificent prince, and took special notice of persons of merit. Æneas Sylvius, he further observed, by following his own opinions, with incessant toil, could rise no higher than to be canon of Trent; but, being changed to a better mind, became a bishop, a cardinal, and finally pope Pius II; and that cardinal Bessarion's advancement had fallen little short of this.—Luther in reply told him, that he made no account of the estimation in which he was held by the court of Rome, whose hatred he feared not, nor desired their favour: that he declined no labour in the ministry of God's word, though he was but an unprofitable servant: that he could see no more affinity between the service of Christ and that of the papacy, than between darkness and light: that nothing in his whole life had been more serviceable to him, than the severity of Leo and the harshness of Cajetan; so that he could not ascribe their conduct to themselves, but to the providence of God; for that, not being at that time enlightened in the great system of Christian truth, but having only discovered certain abuses in the matter of indulgences, he should easily have been prevailed upon to be silent, if only his adversaries would have observed the same condition; but that the writings of Prierias, the haughtiness of Cajetan, and the violence of Leo drove him to investigate the whole subject, and thus to discover errors and abuses, more numerous and more intolerable, such as a man could not conceal with a safe conscience:[1] that the nuncio had ingenuously

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[1] This is the account which Luther constantly gives of the course he had pursued: and can any account be more simple, more natural, or better supported by fact? It is that which investigation led Dr. Robertson and Dr. Campbell,

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confessed, that he was not conversant in theology, which indeed appeared from the arguments he used; for that none could call the doctrine of the reformers new, unless he believed that Christ, the apostles, and the holy fathers governed their lives by such rules as the pope, the cardinals, and the bishops now did: nor could any argument be drawn against the doctrine from the discords in Germany, except by one little acquainted with the scriptures, and not aware that it is the peculiar mark of the word of God and the gospel of Christ, that where it is preached in the world it occasions troubles and tumults, even to the setting of the son against the father, and the father against the son; and that its effect is, to give life to them that obey it, but to increase condemnation to them that reject it;[1] that it was a great fault of the Romanists, to support the church of Christ, as if it were a temporal state, by human sanctions: that this is that kind of wisdom which S. Paul calls *foolishness with God;* whereas to disregard those political considerations by which the Romish hierarchy is conducted, to trust the promises of God, and to refer the interests of the church to his divine management, is that folly of men which is wisdom with God: that it was not in the power

as well as Dr. Milner, to adopt: yet the very opposite account, unnatural as it is, and unsupported by facts, is perpetually asserted by all the adversaries of Luther, with Bossuet at their head, and re-echoed by those who affect to hold a middle station of philosophic impartiality between the two parties. They represent him as actuated only by selfish motives; as from the first prepared to push matters to the utmost extremity that he could against the church of Rome; and as hypocritical in all his professions of willingness to stop short and be silent.

[1] See further, Seck. iii. 187 (6).

of Martin to make the council succeed, and prove profitable to the church; it rather depended on the pope's leaving it free, that the Spirit of God alone might rule and preside in it; and that, all interests, usurpations, and artifices of men being excluded, the holy scriptures might be the sole standard by which every thing should be decided: that, if it were so conducted, he, for his part, would carry with him thither all possible sincerity and Christian charity,—not for the purpose of pleasing the pope or any human being, but of promoting the glory of Christ, and establishing the peace and liberty of the church: but that so great a blessing to the Christian world could not be hoped for, unless all hypocrisy were laid aside, and the wrath of God against their sins appeased by serious repentance: that the assembling together of men, ever so learned, was but a weak resource for so great a work; seeing that, so long as the wrath of God is kindled, there is no error so absurd to which the grand enemy of mankind cannot persuade those great learned men, who trust in their own wisdom and knowledge—for it pleases God *to confound the wisdom of the wise:* that he could receive nothing from the court of Rome compatible with the ministry of the gospel: that the examples of Æneas Sylvius and Bessarion moved him not at all; the twinkling splendour of worldly greatness having no attractions for him; but that, if he were inclined to boast himself, he might adopt the facetious remark of Erasmus, 'that poor and despised Luther made many rich and great:' that he need not go far to prove this; as the nuncio himself knew that, only in the month of May last, the advancement of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, to the

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cardinalate was greatly owing, and that of Schönberg entirely owing to him."—"Vergerio therefore," proceeds Father Paul, "could gain nothing from Luther, who maintained his wonted magnanimity, and held fast his doctrine as firmly as if it had been the object of vision to his bodily eyes; openly avowing that the pope and the nuncio should sooner embrace his doctrine, than he would surrender it."[1]

Pallavicini and Maimbourg.

This relation excites the indignation of Pallavicini and Maimbourg, who roundly charge the great author, who delivers it, with fiction and falsehood. In support of the charge Pallavicini quotes Vergerio's letters to Rome, in which he says that he "only saw Luther at dinner, just before he left Wittemberg; that Luther talked of indifferent matters, and in a very mean style, answering only by monosyllables; and that he appeared to him to be distinguished by nothing but impudence and malice." Such a report of the poverty and meanness of Luther's conversation is in itself utterly incredible. The account is also not very consistent with itself, for wherein was he to shew his "impudence and malice," if he talked only "of indifferent matters," and "answered only by monosyllables?" And indeed Maimbourg himself, who quotes it, betrays a suspicion that it might have been framed to suit the wishes of those to whom it was addressed: "Especially," he says, "if the nuncio was conscious of having imbibed some taint of the heresy which he afterwards avowed, he would write in this way concerning an interview with Luther."[2]

[1] F. Paul, 70—72, compared with Seck. iii. 95, 96.
[2] Seck. iii. 95, 96, et ibi Maimburg.

Luther himself, in a paper written two years afterwards, during the meeting at Smalkald, gives some confirmation to the account of what passed at this interview. He says, "Vergerio confessed to me at Wittemberg, that he had heard very different reports of us before he arrived, than he found to be true."[1] Vergerio also soon after recited to the elector some things which had passed,[2] in accordance with what is stated above.[3]

A. D. 1536.

Concord of Wittemberg. 1536.

Dean Milner having related, quite as much at length as can be interesting to his readers, the progress of the lamentable sacramental controversy, which permanently divided the friends of the reformation, I have almost entirely abstained from noticing the subject in this volume. It may be proper, however, just to state, that, under the auspices of Bucer, who was ever intent upon healing the division which this controversy occasioned, and, for that desirable object, sometimes, perhaps, had recourse to nice refinements, beyond what was consistent with perfect "simplicity and godly sincerity," an union was at length effected between certain of the parties litigant. This was called the Concord of Wittemberg, and took place in the year 1536. It was here conceded to Luther, "That the body and blood of Christ are *truly* and *substantially* present in the eucharist, and that

[1] Seck. iii. 145 (5). [2] Ib. 98.

[3] It may be proper, however, to add, that Bayle, who in his Dictionary, under the article *Luther*, has mainly employed himself in examining and exposing the many calumnies propagated against the reformer, thinks that he finds reason to doubt the authenticity of Father Paul's account of this interview; particularly in what relates to his orders to gain over some of the leading reformers.—Even if we suppose that great author on this occasion to have indulged his imagination, his inventions will still shew us what he thought to be probable, and consonant to the character of the two parties respectively.

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they are received, with the bread and wine, equally by the worthy and the unworthy communicant"—for the latter position, no less than the former, was considered as essential to his doctrine.[1] The Swiss, however, could never be brought to consent to these propositions: but the divines and churches of Strasburg and other places in Upper Germany, which had before inclined to the sentiments of the Helvetic church, now retired from its communion, and joined themselves by a public act to that of Luther; a circumstance which gave abundant satisfaction to that reformer.[2]

Anecdote.

Those, however, who believe, with the church of England, that "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner;" and that "the mean, whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith;" will think the following little anecdote, connected with the event, as interesting as any part of the proceedings. "On the day that Bucer preached at Wittemberg, Luther invited him to supper, and, after commending his sermon, observed, however, that 'he could preach better than Bucer.' Bucer courteously assented, saying that 'by universal consent that praise belonged to Luther.' Luther then speaking seriously said, 'Do not think that I am vainly boasting: I am conscious of my own slender stores; nor

[1] Accordingly in the Articles of Smalkald (to be noticed immediately,) it is said, "We believe that the bread and wine in the supper are the true body and blood of Christ, and are given and received not only by pious Christians, but also by those who are destitute of piety—*impiis*." Seck. iii. 155.

[2] Seck. iii. 129--132. Du Pin, vi. 133—139. Mosheim, iv. 69.—Strasburg was at that time, and for a hundred and fifty years after, a German city.—Musculus of Augsburg (afterwards of Berne,) was one of those who could not accede to the doctrine of the sacrament, thus agreed upon.

could I preach so ingenious and learned a sermon as you have done to day: but my practice is this; when I mount the pulpit, I consider what is the character of my hearers, most of whom are rude and uninstructed people—almost Goths and Vandals—and I preach to them what I think they can understand: but you rise aloft, and soar into the clouds; so that your sermons suit the learned, but are unintelligible to our plain people. I endeavour to copy the mother, who thinks her child better fed with the simple milk of the breast, than with the most costly confections.'"[1] A. D. 1537.

Articles of Smalkald.

Previously to the more solemn meeting of the confederates at Smalkald, which has been noticed in the preceding chapter, Luther, at the desire of the elector, and with the assistance of some of his brethren, drew up a fresh statement of the articles of their faith. The reason for this measure was not any dissatisfaction with the confession of Augsburg, but only that several years having now elapsed, and much discussion having taken place, it might again be considered, whether on any points they could express themselves more clearly; whether, on any, concession could be made; and on what they must resolve to stand firm. Many accessions to the confederated body had also taken place within the last eight years; on which account it might be more proper, that a new and public testimony should be given by all to their common principles. Thus, moreover, it might be more distinctly declared, that they still continued free from the many obnoxious dogmas which were pertinaciously ascribed to them.[2] The statement, thus drawn

[1] Seck. iii. 131 (11).

[2] Seck. iii. 151—157.

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up, passes under the name of the Articles of Smalkald: it obtained the free concurrence of all parties concerned; and it is still numbered among the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. No difference worth noticing subsists between these articles and the confession of Augsburg; but there was annexed to them a a tractate, in two parts, from the pen of Melancthon, on the supremacy of the pope, and the power and jurisdiction of bishops[1]—subjects which it had been thought adviseable to pass over very slightly at Augsburg, while the hope of conciliation existed. In this piece Melancthon makes "as firm and manly a stand as Luther himself could have done."[2]

[1] See Pezelii Consil. Melanc. i. 272—287.

[2] Seck. iii. 152.—The reasons assigned for framing these articles are obviously such as might induce fair and honest minds to adopt the measure. Bossuet, however, has endeavoured to avail himself of it, in his usual way, in his "Histoire des Variations," representing these repeated confessions of their faith as a sufficient demonstration that the protestants knew not what they believed. A simple reconsideration of the confession, and renewed ratification of it without change, unless there had appeared strong reason for change in any point, might perhaps have better answered the purpose, and precluded such invidious representations.—In fact, these articles were subscribed only by *the divines* of the various states present; the lay part of the assembly contenting themselves with confirming anew the confession and apology of Augsburg, and approving the additional tract now composed by Melancthon. The divines also declared their adherence to the confession and apology, and their determination to teach according to them: and, when Luther, the next year, published these articles, he did it "to declare the constancy," or steady consistency, "of his confession." (Seck. iii. 153, 156, 157.)—In short the articles were believed by all parties to be no innovation upon the confession, but in perfect harmony with it.

The same vehement impugner of the reformation, just mentioned, with most of those who have followed him, has much to say upon the following note, which Melancthon prefixed to his subscription of the articles: "I approve the

A. D 1537.

Luther, on submitting these articles, again begged the elector to consider, how far he and the other princes would risque committing themselves to them; for that those who had drawn them up wished to bind none by them but themselves, and such as should voluntarily subscribe them. The elector replied, with great piety and firmness, that he was convinced of their accordance with the word of God, and with their former confession, and rejoiced that no reason had been found for any alteration of opinion: that he would avow them before the council and the whole world; and only desired that God might preserve him, his brother, his children, and his subjects in this faith without wavering. He commits the event to God, being willing in his cause to endure any thing that he might appoint. "It has been God's pleasure," he says, "that we should be princes; he will preserve us such, if he sees good; if otherwise, our anxieties about it would be vain: the will of God be done!"[1]

Sentiments of the Elector.

Luther has a remarkable sentence, written at this time, concerning the mass. "This article," he says, "will be made a main point with the council: though they should allow us all the rest, they will not yield a hair's breadth here. Campeggio said at Augsburg, that he would be

Luther on the Mass.

foregoing articles as pious and Christian. As for the pope, my opinion is, that, if he would admit the gospel, he might, for the peace and common tranquillity of Christians who are or shall hereafter be under him, be allowed by us that superiority over the bishops which he otherwise enjoys *by human right*." Taken with all its limitations, it amounts to but little: and, while insisting on it, Bossuet takes no notice of the entire dissertation which Melancthon had written on the subject, and which was now publicly sanctioned.—Hist. des Var. I. iv. 39.

[1] Seck. iii. 151, 152.

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torn limb from limb, rather than consent to abolish the mass. And I (subjoins Luther,) would rather be burned to ashes, than put an administrator of the mass, with the service which he performs, (whatever may be his private character,) on a footing with Christ"—namely, by making his offering "a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead." "We shall therefore eternally differ on this point: and with the mass the papacy itself will stand or fall."[1]

Provision for the Clergy.

To the assembly of the protestant princes and states at Smalkald, an application was made from their divines generally, for a provision to be made, out of the ecclesiastical funds, for a triple object,—the maintenance of the clergy, the education of youth, and the support of hospitals for the aged and infirm poor.[2] This had been done in some places, but was felt to be very necessary in all. And, as the appropriation of the funds in question was a subject on which the protestants were perpetually assailed by their enemies, and much harassed by the imperial chamber, an abstract of their answer to this application may well deserve to be inserted in this place, for the purpose of shewing the principles on which they acted, and constantly maintained that they were fully justified in acting, with respect to them. The conduct both of the divines and the princes will be found such as may well repel the charges brought against the former of alluring their superiors, and against the latter of being allured, by the plunder of the church to promote the reformation.

Appropriation of the Ecclesiastical Funds.

Reciting the petition, the princes say in reply, "Seeing that the persons, who call themselves

1 Seck. iii. 154.

2 See Milner v. 79, 372—374. (652, 965—967.)

ecclesiastical prelates and ministers, adhere to the dogmas and ceremonies of the papacy, and will not agree with us in religion; and thus monasteries, collegiate churches, and other institutions have come, or are likely to come into our hands; we unanimously resolve to place over the parishes, within our respective jurisdictions, learned, virtuous, and pious pastors, preachers, and ministers, and to provide from the ecclesiastical funds for the sufficient and respectable support of them and their families, according to the situations which they may occupy. We will appoint also superintendants of the pastors and ministers, to watch over their lives and doctrine. And, that there never may be wanting in our churches a succession of Christian pastors and ministers, we will establish schools, or support those already established, within our respective jurisdictions, for the training of youth in sound learning and virtuous manners. We will also appoint stipends for poorer scholars, especially such as may apply themselves to the study of the holy scriptures and divine knowledge. We will erect and endow hospitals for the poor of either sex: in order that all may be done, where it has not been done already, which can be expected in this behalf from Christian princes and magistrates."[1] And this regulation, Seckendorf informs us, though repeatedly reconsidered, was never afterwards rescinded or even altered; so that, if any acted not up to it, it was their own private fault, and contrary to the engagement which they had made. And who shall deny, that it was infinitely better, and more becoming Christian rulers, and even more agreeable to

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[1] Seck. iii. 157, 158.

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the original design of these funds, to make such an use of them, than to suffer them to be applied to perpetuate the superstitions and vices of popery among the people? The protestants were never backward to meet the question; and they constantly maintained, that, in thus appropriating these revenues, they fulfilled the duty of faithful trustees, according to the light which, by the good providence of God, now shone upon them, and as both the wishes and the interests of their subjects required.[1]

In carrying these measures into effect, it is to be observed, the present possessors appear uniformly to have been allowed to retain their emoluments for life, if they chose to stay in their places, and act as peaceable citizens: but, if they withdrew from the country, they forfeited their advantages. Such is the substance of many passages on the subject in Sleidan and Seckendorf.[2]

Integrity of the Protestants.

Luther, indeed, and others were of opinion, that, considering the heavy charges incurred by the princes in the cause of religion, some part of the funds might very equitably have been applied to the service of the state:[3] yet, after the various objects above enumerated were provided for, the protestants might well ask, "Would it not be a strange infatuation in us to endanger, not only our fortunes and reputation, but our lives themselves, our wives, our children, and all that is dear to us, for the gaining of such paltry and invidious pecuniary advan-

[1] Sleid. 223, 258, 259. Seck. i. 236, 240, iii. 25. Vid. in ejusd. Indice, *Eccles. Bona.*—Compare Milner v. 36, 37. (606, 607.)

[2] Vid. inter alia, Sleid. 223, 259. Seck. ii. 44 (g), iii. 71 (f), 76 (d), 123 (4), 185 (19, 21).

[3] Seck. iii. 25 (11), 158.

tage as can remain?"[1] The appeal of the elector John Frederick, upon the subject, is forcible and pathetic: "We call God to witness that the imputation is false; that we have a pure conscience, and can say with David, *O Lord my God, if I have done any such thing, and if there be iniquity in my hands,*—if I have sought any other object in this cause, than the advancement of thy holy gospel, and thy honour and glory, and that thy name may be hallowed, and thy kingdom promoted in the world, and all the false doctrines of the pope and all others may be abolished, and the true peace of thy church established: if I have done any other than this, *then let the enemy persecute my soul and take it; yea let him tread down my life to the ground, and lay my honour in the dust.*"[2] A. D. 1537.

Luther's illness, and departure from Smalkald.

While attending the meeting at Smalkald, Luther suffered a very severe and dangerous illness, arising from a topical complaint,[3] which it appears from Melancthon's letters was aggravated by the mismanagement of a Hessian physician.[4] At his own earnest entreaty, therefore, he was removed from Smalkald on the twenty-sixth of February; and, beyond all expectation, his first day's journey homeward so relieved him, that he wrote his wife word that he felt himself "quite a new man." But he tells her, that "for eight days together he had had neither ease nor sleep, and had rejected all nourishment. In short," he says, "I was a dead man, and had committed you and my

[1] Sleid. 223, 258.

[2] In Seck. iii. 12, in reply to Henry of Brunswick.

[3] "Octo diebus obstructo urinæ meatu."—"A prima dominica (18 Feb.) ad alteram usque, nullam lotii guttam emittere potui."

[4] "Acciderant hic quædam turpia ἰατρικὰ errata, quæ adhuc metuo." Melanc. Ep. iv. 196.

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children to God and to our kind prince. I felt much for you, but had no hope of seeing you again. Such urgent prayers, however, were offered for me, and so many tears shed, that I am relieved."—His illness produced a deep sensation among the parties assembled at Smalkald; and, when the elector was informed of the relief he had found, he wrote immediately to him, expressing the joy he felt, and that he had caused public thanks to be returned to Almighty God.—Within the week, however, at Gotha, he suffered a relapse; and in consequence prepared for death. He communicated to Bugenhagius, who accompanied him, his last wishes. He told him, that he knew he had done rightly, and thanked God for it, in attacking the papacy, which was the enemy of God, of Christ, and of his gospel. He sent his remembrances to Melancthon, Jonas, and Cruciger; asking their pardon for any thing in which he might have offended them.—"It ought to be a consolation," he said, "to his wife, to think that they had lived happily together for twelve years." He praised her dutifulness, and prayed God to reward her. He commended her and his children to the care of his friends. He sent his salutations to the deacons and the citizens of Wittemberg, acknowledging their kindness to him. He begged that the elector and the landgrave would not suffer themselves to be disturbed by the clamour concerning the ecclesiastical funds; for, if they made use of any part of them, this was not unlawful, considering the great expences they incurred in the cause of religion; and what was it compared with the abuses made of them by those who raised the clamour?—"Charge the princes also," he said, "in my name, con-

fiding in God, to do boldly whatever the Holy Spirit shall direct them to in the cause of the gospel: the particular measures I do not prescribe to them. May the God of mercy strengthen them to persevere in the sound doctrine which they have received, and fill them with thankfulness for their deliverance from Antichrist. I have earnestly commended them to God in my prayers; and I trust that he will preserve them, imperfect though they be, from yielding again to the papal impiety." He subjoined some remarks on the blasphemies, hatred, and cruelty of his enemies, on which he would have written, had circumstances permitted: but there would not be wanting persons to do it, if he should die.—" My soul," he said, finally, " I commend to the hands of my Father, and my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I have preached and confessed on earth."—It pleased God, however, that, through the skill and attention of a physician (George Sturzius) who accompanied him, he recovered.[1] A. D. 1535.

From a paper preserved in the Saxon archives, it appears that, during his illness at Smalkald, Luther told the elector, " He foresaw, that, after his death, discord would arise in the university of Wittemberg, and changes would be made in his doctrine." The elector afterwards expressed to him the anxiety which this declaration had occasioned him; observing that he understood Melancthon and Cruciger " used different terms on the subject of justification, and of grace and works, than Luther had done; and, particularly, that Melancthon had changed some words in an edition of the confession which he had published;—a thing which ought not to

He anticipates changes of Doctrine.

[1] Seck. iii. 164, 165.

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have been done in a public document, without authority. And, if these things be done," said he, "while you and I are alive, what may we expect will hereafter take place?" He exhorted Luther not to neglect this subject, and added, "Though he knew the celebrity of the university was attributed, in great measure, to the learning and talents of Melancthon, yet he would rather forfeit all that advantage, and even see the university deserted, than suffer divine truth to be impaired: that, in such a case, he should have less to charge himself with than duke George had, who, by his zeal for ancient errors, had reduced the university of Leipsic to a solitude."—It is much to be regretted that Luther's reply has not been preserved.—"All this, however, I record," says Seckendorf, "with exact fidelity, that we may with the more confidence meet the attempts which are made, to decide religious questions by the private sentiments of Melancthon and other individuals. At the same time it refutes, by the authority of this distinguished prince, all that has been, and to this day is objected, concerning changes in the confession; and shews that no alteration was made with the sanction of public authority.—It appears also that Luther was a true prophet, as to the differences that afterwards arose, and to which it cannot be denied that the yielding temper of Melancthon afforded occasion. This was taken advantage of by many in various ways: but the firmness of Luther was of the greatest service to the church as long as he lived.—The noble spirit of the elector, also, cannot be too much admired, in preferring truth and rectitude to fame and every other consideration."[1]—Thus speaks the upright and

[1] Seck. iii. 165.

manly Seckendorf; and, in so speaking, furnishes the proper answer to much that Bossuet and others have urged and exaggerated, particularly from the case of Melancthon, against the steadiness of the reformed churches to their principles. Fluctuation in "the private opinions of individuals," (in great measure arising from natural temperament,) is not the tergiversation of public bodies. A. D. 1537.

On leaving Smalkald, Luther let fall an expression, which, being reported abroad, called forth the virulent animadversions of his enemies. Looking back on the city, where all the protestant powers were assembled, he exclaimed, "May God fill you with hatred of the pope!"[1] The sentence indeed sounds harsh, especially in the form of a prayer: but we may fairly ask, What was there in it so much to be condemned? It surely need not be said, that neither in this, nor in other instances which have been adduced against him, did Luther intend any thing like personal hostility to the individual who filled the papal chair, or to any other individual whatever: he referred to that antichristian system, of which the pope is the official head and representative, and to that only. And does either piety or charity require us to keep any measures with that system itself, abstractedly considered,—a system which, laying hold of God's best gift to the human race, the religion of Jesus Christ, converted it, through successive centuries, into the very reverse of all for which it was designed; making it the instrument of darkness instead of light, of impurity instead of holiness, of tyranny, both spiritual and civil, instead of freedom, and even of renewed idolatry

His prayer on leaving Smalkald.

Popery.

[1] Seck. iii. 165.

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instead of the pure and spiritual worship, which was to have subverted superstition and banished all false religion from among men. Surely, in consistence with the most perfect good will even to its votaries, we may desire to see such a system "consumed by the spirit of the Lord's mouth, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming."[1] Yes, whatever indulgence we may be desirous of extending to the professors of the Roman catholic religion, (and let them have every indulgence, every privilege that they can enjoy consistently with the common safety,) yet let us never forget what popery was, and is essentially in itself, and what it will ever shew itself to be in proportion as it is enabled to act freely, and display its true character. It is one of the fashionable and threatening errors of the present day, that, in their zeal to shew themselves liberal, and candid, and indulgent towards Roman catholics, men are apt to soften down and lose sight of the enormities, doctrinal and practical, of the papal system. Here we are in danger of realizing the observation of the poet:

> Vice is a monster of so foul a mien
> As, to be hated, needs but to be seen,
> Yet, seen too oft, familiar with the face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Persecution, it is true, is a crime to which our fallen nature is prone, and into which almost all parties have in different degrees fallen; but let us not on that ground, with affected philosophy, but with real indolence and indiscrimination, and in defiance of all historic verity, pretend, that popery stands, in this respect, on the same footing with other religious systems. No, persecution is inherent in the very principles and

[1] 2 Thess. ii.

constitution of the Romish church: she has been in this, as in so many other respects, "the mother of abominations"[1] to the earth. If other professedly Christian bodies long retained the persecuting spirit, it was mainly because they found it so difficult wholly to eradicate the seeds of instruction which they had received from her hand: and, while they have undoubtedly been occasionally stained with the blood of those who dissented from them, she hath been even steeped in it—in the strong language of scripture prophecy, "drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus."[2]—And the testimony which has fallen in my way, from the pen of her sanctioned and remunerated advocate, Pallavicini, to her unaltered and unalterable adherence to her principles, however she may, from policy, suffer her unaccredited members for a time to deviate from them, or even to deny them, is so striking, that I cannot but here transcribe it. "The whole of our faith," he says, "rests upon one indivisible article, namely, the infallible authority of the church. *The moment, therefore, we give up any part whatever, the whole falls: for, what admits not of being divided, must evidently stand entire or fall entire.*"[3]

A. D. 1537.

Its unalterable character.

But to return to Luther. A story is told, and recorded, with much confidence, by several respectable authorities, of a letter written in a solemn and official manner, on the first of February 1537, by Ferdinand king of the Romans to Luther, whom he addresses as "The honourable, learned, and devout Doctor Martin Luther of Wittemberg;" the contents of which, could the story be relied upon, would be very

Story of an address from Ferdinand to Luther.

[1] Rev. xvii. 5. [2] Rev. xvii. 6.
[3] Pallav. Hist. Concil. Trident. III. iv. 6.—Seck. ii. 210.

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remarkable. The writer begins by acknowledging the prejudice against Luther and his writings, which he had brought with him into Germany; but states, that "within the last two years he had read some of his works, particularly on the Psalms: that it had subsequently happened, that his confessor, a Franciscan, who had accompanied him from Spain, drawing near death, had acknowledged that he had never taught him the true way of salvation, and earnestly besought him to receive, and promote throughout his dominions, the gospel as faithfully delivered by Luther, and to urge the emperor to do the same; in in which case he himself could die in peace." The king adds, "That he had also conversed with divers persons concerning Luther, who had given him much satisfaction; so that his mind was greatly changed towards him: that he would communicate these things by a solemn embassy to the emperor, and invite his concurrence: that, if he could not obtain that, he would at least call a diet, and, with the advice of Luther and other learned men, endeavour to procure a peaceable and harmonious settlement of the great question concerning religion."[1] Seckendorf appears to be somewhat staggered by the authorities which have sanctioned this account, but he observes, that Luther never appeals to such a document, nor appears to have communicated it to the elector; that Ferdinand's public conduct did not accord to it; and that the original has not been found at Dresden, where it was said to have been deposited. Though, therefore, he leaves the question undecided, he evidently inclines to discredit the story; and

[1] Seck. iii. 162.

it must be acknowledged to carry about it but few marks of probability. A. D. 1533.

Luther's Works.

We may now notice the works of Luther published during this period.

On private Masses.

Near the end of the year 1533 appeared his treatise on Private Masses, a subject on which he had also written several years before.[1] He here mentions having heard at Rome, that there were priests who, instead of the words of consecration, muttered, "Panis es, et panis manebis," "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt continue;" while others indignantly omitted the consecration altogether. Frequently also, he says, the whole form was hurried over with indecent haste; and that, when he himself was more deliberate and reverent, he was bid to make better speed. He largely insists, however, that the efficacy of ordinances depends not on the intention or the character of those who administer them, but on the institution of Christ.

In this work he treats also of the ordination of ministers, and of church government. He asserts that bishops and presbyters were but one order; in which he was, probably, too much influenced by the distinct offices not being always marked by a corresponding distinction of names: and he observes that, though, for the sake of peace, they had been willing at Augsburg to assign ordination to the bishops (exclusively), yet, their offers having been then slighted and rejected, they would not be repeated; and maintains, that every church had within itself the power of calling and ordaining ministers.[2]

He still, and indeed even to the end of life, continued to maintain the literal meaning of

[1] Milner v. 5. (573.) [2] Seck. iii. 59—61. See Appendix.

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the sacramental words, "This is my body: and this year he wrote to Francfort in support of his doctrine. Bucer, however, always studious of peace upon this subject, wisely prevented any animadversion on his epistle, and any confession being established which should tend to widen the breach concerning the sacrament; and strove to persuade, not only his friends, but even Luther himself, that their difference was chiefly verbal.

On Confession.

In the same letter to Francfort, Luther defended the sort of confession of sin, of which he had given a specimen in his catechism; namely of sins which burdened the conscience, and concerning which young persons and the less learned might need special instruction, though to others it might not be necessary: and he declares, that "for all the world he would not banish this sort of confession from the churches."

On the titles of ministers.

Here also he vindicates the title of *reverend*, given to ministers, rejecting the frivolous preciseness of some who found fault with it, and who, he fears, were touched with Munzer's phrensy of abrogating all distinctions among men. For his own part, he "wishes that, not only the title of reverend, but that of saint, or holy, (sanctus,) also were given to the pastors of the church, as it was to Jerome, Augustine, and others; by which the office, not the person, was honoured:" and he adds, "Would that there were no worse error in the papacy than calling the pope *most holy!* I would readily call him *threefold most holy.*"[1]—This may be regarded as an instance of that largeness of mind which distinguished our reformer, and made him, while firm as a rock where points of real importance

[1] Seck. iii. 61—63. Ter sanctissimus,

were concerned, perfectly indifferent to trifles, on which too many have wasted their strength. A. D. 1533.

He published also this year sermons on the Christian faith, from 1 Tim. i. 5—7; on 1 John iv. 16, "God is love;" and on the apostles' creed; all which were highly esteemed.[1]—In the first, he demonstrates the necessity of good works, "as the evidence of our justification, and for the comfort of our own consciences;" and also of faith, "by which, embracing the merits of Christ, we stand accepted before the tribunal of God." He assigns the reason why he so much insisted on the latter topic—that "the men of the age, in which he lived, had been accustomed to hear nothing proclaimed to them, but *keep the commandments*, while no one taught them *how* they were to do it, so as to satisfy either God or their own consciences." He urges besides, how closely self-righteousness cleaves to the heart of man. "I have myself taught this doctrine," he says, "for twenty years,[2] both in my preaching and my writings; and yet the old and tenacious mire clings to me, so that I find myself wanting to come to God, bringing something in my hand, for which he should bestow his grace upon me. I cannot attain to casting myself on pure and simple mercy only: and yet this is highly necessary."—From the second series of sermons here mentioned, an extract has been given above.[3]—On the apostles' creed, he speaks of it as a thing "extremely difficult, and to human reason next to impossible, sincerely to say, *I believe in Jesus Christ*." "Submit the article," he says, "to reason; she is utterly confounded by it, and comes to regard the whole as a fable. Hence

On justification and the evidences of faith.

[1] Seck. iii. 64, 65.
[2] Compare Milner iv. 328 and 608. (301 and app. 53.)
[3] Above, p. 154.

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in Italy scarcely any thing is believed about it; and our countrymen, alas! have learned to copy that kind of wisdom."—What would he say were he now to revisit many parts of Germany?

Advice to students of Theology.

With this passage we may connect the following advice to students of theology, which occurs in his commentary on the forty-fifth Psalm, published soon after. "You who apply yourselves to sacred learning, be admonished above all things to settle in your minds what you should believe as the truths of the Christian religion; and have the articles of your faith well considered, and confirmed by apposite texts of scripture: and then, when the devil, or heretics, his instruments, would make you doubt them, oppose to them those texts, and leave them, saying, 'I will not listen to your cavils and speculations; for thus hath the Holy Spirit directed, who commands me to hearken and incline mine ear.' The doctrine, that all our own righteousness must be renounced and our confidence placed only in Christ and his righteousness, will appear new and strange, so that many will be offended at it. So also will the doctrine, that Christ himself is God, and to be worshipped as such. But in the way described I shall be assured that I do not err concerning it; and the objection from the first commandment, and other scriptures concerning the unity of God, will be answered. For, if they urge, 'You make more gods than one:' I answer, 'I do not: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are the same God: the substance and essence are one, though the persons are three. *How* the persons differ, I do not indeed understand: sufficient for me is the authority of scripture, which names the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in the last chapter of S. Matthew. If I could comprehend the

subject by my reason, what need would there be of faith?' But if I will admit nothing to be, which by my reason I cannot comprehend, I must soon give up baptism, the Lord's supper, the word, grace, original sin, and every thing: for reason comprehends none of these things.'"[1] —Many such passages shew, both how much his mind was exercised respecting every doctrine that he received, and, at the same time, what implicit submission he yielded to the authority of holy scripture. Thus, speaking of some who had written against the doctrine of the Trinity, he says, "They seem not to be aware that others, as well as themselves, have had their temptations concerning this doctrine: but it avails nothing to oppose my reasonings to the word and Spirit of God."[2] In the same spirit Melancthon, referring to Servetus and his arguments against the divinity of Christ, observes, "I turn my thoughts to those scriptures which teach me to pray to Christ, that is to pay him divine honour, and find comfort."[3] A. D. 1533.

In some lectures on Isaiah, of the same date, which were taken down from his mouth, (for he delivered his expositions extempore,[4]) he quotes, on c. viii. v. 12, the sentiment of the elector Frederick on confederacies: "That they often emboldened the parties to attempt things which they would not otherwise have ventured upon; and then, when difficulties arose they fell away, and deserted one another: which induced the elector to stand aloof from them."[5] Again, (xxix. 8.) on "the hungry man dreaming that he eateth," he applies the passage to persecutors, flattering themselves that they had devoured and destroyed On his own times.

[1] Seck iii. 83. [2] Ib. 40 (8). [3] Epist. iv. 140.
[4] Seck. iii. 120 (27). [5] Ib. 80.

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the church; mentioning first the persecutions of pagan Rome, and then those of Rome papal. "But all," he says, "is mere illusion: it is not devouring, but only dreaming that they devour. And so in ten years' time you shall see the princes and bishops, who now rage against the word of God, all come to nothing, and the gospel and its professors in safety."[1] If not within ten years, yet within twenty, the truth of both these passages was strikingly illustrated.

On c. xxxix, he has a striking passage on the sins and miseries of human life. "The sense of the sins with which they are tempted and defiled is the greatest of all afflictions to the righteous. Every age has its besetting evils. In youth passion domineers; in advancing years, covetousness; and then, if a man has performed his part well in life, in old age comes self-applause. Every period also is exposed to its peculiar outward dangers. Yet even all this cannot bow the stubborn neck of man to humility and submission. It is hopeless to think of living without sin. We must cast ourselves simply on Christ, and say, O Lord Jesus, pardon me! How often and how grievously I have sinned, thou knowest: I myself cannot trace it!"[2]

On c. xlix. 8, he laments, as we have seen him doing elsewhere, the conceit and fastidiousness of the people. "The time was, when I would have preferred the right understanding of a single psalm to all the riches of the world. But the heaven was then brass to us, and the earth iron. Now, when the windows of heaven have been opened, we are grown fastidious. He, who has once perused the New Testament, thinks he has nothing more to learn. The word of God, therefore, will be taken from us,

[1] Seck. iii. 81. [2] Ibid.

and given to a nation whom perhaps we know not." [1] A. D. 1536.

Here too again, after having strongly asserted his doctrine concerning justification, in treating of the fifty-third chapter, he, on the fifty-eighth, insists on good works as the evidence of a justified state: "*Righteousness shall go before thee*—thy good works shall assure thy own conscience... Thus Peter says, that good works assure men of their calling... We are not here treating the question of justification." [2]

He published also at this time lectures on various other parts of scripture,[3] and prefixed prefaces to different works of other authors; and particularly, in the year 1533, to the confession of faith of the Waldenses; concerning whom, after inquiry, he had become satisfied "that they were not heretics," but sound though imperfectly-instructed Christians.[4]—A letter to Joachim, prince of Anhalt, who was ill and depressed in mind, is particularly specified under the year 1534. He recommends to him cheerful conversation with his pastor, Hausman, music, and even facetious discourse: observing that God "allowed exhilaration of that kind within proper limits, and would not be displeased at our thus dispelling melancholy, and enjoying the blessings he bestowed upon us for both soul and body." [5] The Waldenses.

In 1535 his renewed commentary on the epistle to the Galatians appeared. It is not 'a new edition' of his former work, but the substance of a new series of lectures on the epistle.[6] Of this important work Dr. Milner has spoken so largely,[7] in connexion with Luther's former Second Commentary on Galatians.

[1] Seck. iii. 82. [2] Ibid. 82. [3] Ibid. 84—86.
[4] Ibid. 62, 63. [5] Ibid. 86. [6] Ibid. 116—124.
[7] Milner, iv. 509—524. (493—508.)

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publication on the same subject, that a few gleanings are all that shall here be added.

On c. iii. 10, he thus explains what it is "to fulfil the law," in the only sense in which it can be done, or indeed the law of God truly obeyed at all, among sinful men. "We must in the first place listen to the promise, which proposes Christ to us: embracing him, we receive the Holy Spirit for his sake. God and our neighbour are then truly loved, good works are performed, the cross is borne. This is truly to *fulfil the law*, which otherwise remains for ever unfulfilled." [1]

A subsequent passage may be quoted as opposed to the notion, to which fresh currency has been recently given, that we are first brought, indeed, into a justified state by faith, but can be *continued* in it only by obedience. "Faith *perpetually*" (or to the end) "justifies and makes us alive; and yet it remains not alone; that is, it is not idle. Not that it does not stand alone in its proper province and office—for it *constantly* justifies us... but it is not idle, and without charity."

On the difficulty of treating these questions rightly, he says, on c. v. 13: "It is a nice and difficult thing to teach, that we are justified without good works, and yet to require them as necessary. Here, unless the teachers are faithful and wise ministers of Jesus Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, able rightly

[1] Of course the term, "fulfilling the law," is here used in a less strict and proper sense: not for the absolute fulfilling of it in all its "exceeding breadth," (as it must be if we would be justified by our own obedience to it,) but in the only sense in which it is ever obeyed by fallen man. And scripture itself seems to warrant this qualified sense of the term, Rom. viii. 4, &c.

to divide the word of truth, faith and works will immediately be confounded. Each topic, both faith and works, ought to be diligently urged and taught, yet so that each may be kept within its own province." A. D. 1535.

Speaking of sanctification, he alludes to his former views when a monk, and the desire he then felt to converse with a saint, or holy person, figuring to himself under that name a hermit, an ascetic, feeding on roots: but he had since learned that the saint was one, who, being justified in the righteousness of Christ, went on "to serve God in his proper calling; through the Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body, and to subdue his evil affections and desires. Not that all such characters were equally strong; they had many infirmities and evils to contend against: but that did not prevent their being *holy*, provided they did not sin with a wilful and impenitent mind.... I joyfully therefore give thanks to God," he says, "that what I desired he has abundantly granted me, and that I see not one saint but many, yea innumerable saints; not such as empty sophisters imagine, but such as Christ and his apostles describe; and that, by the grace of God, I myself am one of the number." This, again, may be opposed to the abuse often made of his complaints of the evils existing among his own followers.

Perhaps the most exceptionable point in the whole work is, the dishonourable manner in which it often seems to speak of "the law" of God; joining it with sin and Satan as almost equally opposed to man's happiness. This has commended the work to certain modern antinomians, as if it really favoured their views, when nothing can be further from the fact.

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On the Divine Law.

The following passage furnishes the true explanation, always intended by the author, though not so often expressed as was necessary, unless he had reduced his language, of the kind referred to, to a more scriptural model. —"In the conflicts of conscience nothing else ought to be known or thought of, than Christ alone, and the law should be placed out of sight: but, *apart from these conflicts and the topic of justification*, we ought, with Paul, *to speak reverently of the law, to extol it with the highest praises, and to call it holy, just, good, spiritual, divine.*" It was not the law itself, therefore, of which Luther ever meant to speak dishonourably, but only the abuse of it into which they fell who sought to be "justified by the works of the law," or refused all peace of conscience because they felt that they could not be so.

Accordingly in some lectures on the first chapter of St. John, delivered in the year 1537, he thus makes the law our rule of life. "Even the moral law loses its power so far as this, that it cannot condemn those who believe in Christ, and are thus *delivered from the curse of the law*. Yet the decalogue remains in force, and belongs to Christians that they may obey it. For the righteousness which the law requires is fulfilled[1] by believers, through the grace and assistance of the Holy Spirit which they receive. Hence all the exhortations of the prophets, and likewise of Christ and his apostles, to piety and holiness, are so many excellent expositions of the ten commandments."[2]

Predestination.

His remarks on predestination are practical,

[1] Above, p. 238. [2] Seck. iii. 166.

rather than conformed to a system. In a commentary on Joel, on the words, "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved," he says, "In this and similar sentences, the mercy of God is offered generally to all:... here we ought to rest; and believe, since God sends us his word, that we are among the predestinated; and then, on the ground of this promise, *to call upon* him, and be assured [in so doing] of the salvation which he thus expressly promises."[1]—With respect to perseverance, Luther, Bugenhagius, and Melancthon jointly assign their reasons, in the year 1536, for disapproving, and dissuading the publication of a book written by a Thuringian divine, because he had "treated dangerously on predestination, and affirmed that the Holy Spirit was not lost by the elect, even if they fell into manifest crimes." They assert that they had always unanimously taught the contrary in all the churches; namely, that if any saint and believer knowingly and wilfully offended, he was no longer a saint, but had cast away true faith and the Holy Spirit; though God would receive him again if he repented. They add, (what will meet the concurrence of all sober-minded persons,) that we are "not commanded to inquire whether we are *elect*, but to believe that he who perseveres to the end in *repentance* and *faith* is elect and saved." "This doctrine," say they, "is clear, and does not make the fallen secure, but excites them to fear the wrath of God; for it is most certain that God is offended by all sins, whether of the elect or the non-elect." They particularly ad-

A. D. 1536.

Perseverance.

[1] Seck. iii. 133. See also 85 and 86. In fact this differs in no way materially from the Synod of Dort itself: on Predestination, § 16.

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vert to the case of David, and maintain that he lost the Holy Spirit when he committed adultery and murder.[1] The paper is so explicit, says Seckendorf, "that it must furnish the explanation of what Luther may any where else have dropped that sounds differently." The same doctrine was also introduced into the articles of Smalkald, of the year following.[2]

In 1537, he published a small piece on the constitution of Councils, shewing what was necessary to their freedom, and why one, constituted as the pope would have it, could not be free—particularly on account of the oaths by which all persons admissible to vote were bound to support to the utmost all the rights, privileges, and powers of the papal hierarchy.[3]

Multiplication of Books. 1538.

In a preface to some expositions of S. Matthew's Gospel, he expresses his fear of too great a multiplication of books; that, as fathers, councils, and doctors had superseded the apostles, so it should be again; and he modestly says, he "wishes his own books to last only for the age in which they were written, and which they might serve; but that God would give to succeeding ages their own labourers, as he had always heretofore done."[4]

A pious sentiment.

We will close these extracts with the following pious and pleasing passage, founded on Matt. xii. 35. "A corrupt heart turns good to evil, a good one turns even evil to good. For example: Does a good man see a murderer or a thief? he is moved to compassion—pities him, prays for him, mourns over the misery of man, admonishes him, reproves him, does all he can to reclaim him. Next, mindful of

[1] Seck. iii. 135.
[2] Ibid. 155.
[3] Ibid. 408, 409.
[4] Ibid. 187.

human frailty, he humbly reflects, 'He did so yesterday, I may do it to-day!' Hence, thirdly, he prays to God to keep him, and praises him for having kept him hitherto. So much good does a rightly disposed heart derive from one evil seen in another person." [1] A. D. 1538.

Character of Luther's Expositions

The remark of the pious and learned Seckendorf on Luther's expositions of scripture seems to be very just. "I do not deny," he says, "that there are to be found at this day commentaries on the sacred writings distinguished by erudition, eloquence, and deep research; but I confess I much doubt, whether there ever existed a man who furnished, in extemporaneous language, (for thus Luther delivered his lectures,) a more forcible and more edifying exposition of the word of God. I would not, indeed undertake to defend every phrase or every opinion which he uttered, as if it were inspired: he himself earnestly disclaimed all pretensions to such perfection: but I speak of the general consistency of his expositions with the analogy of faith, and of the *heroic energy* of the language and the arguments which he employed: and I think that all, who will bestow any such pains as I have done on the study of his writings, will agree with me in this sentiment." [2]

[1] Seck. iii. 188. [2] Ib. 120.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE CONVENTION OF FRANCFORT TO THE CONFERENCE AND DIET OF RATISBON.

Death of George, Duke of Saxony.

"A FEW days after the convention at Francfort, George duke of Saxony died, and his death was an event of great advantage to the reformation. That prince, the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the Saxon family, possessed, as marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, extensive territories, comprehending Dresden, Leipsic, and other cities now the most considerable in the electorate. From the first dawn of the reformation, he had been its enemy as avowedly as the electoral princes were its protectors, and had carried on his opposition not only with all the zeal flowing from religious prejudices, but with a virulence inspired by personal antipathy to Luther, and embittered by the domestic animosity subsisting between him and the other branch of the family. By his death without issue, the succession fell to his brother Henry, whose attachment to the protestant religion surpassed, if possible, that of his predecessor to popery. Henry no sooner took possession of his new dominions, than, disregarding a clause in George's will, dictated by his bigotry, whereby he bequeathed all his dominions to the emperor and the king of the Romans, if his brother should attempt to make any innovation in religion, he invited some

protestant divines, and among them Luther himself, to Leipsic. By their advice and assistance, he overturned in a few weeks the whole system of ancient rites, establishing the full exercise of the reformed religion, with the universal applause of his subjects, who had long wished for this change, which the authority of their duke alone had hitherto prevented. This revolution delivered the protestants from the danger to which they were exposed by having an inveterate enemy situated in the middle of their territories; and the territories of the princes and cities attached to their cause now extended, in one great and almost unbroken line, from the shore of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine."[1] A. D. 1539.

Such is the account given by Dr. Robertson of the next event which materially advanced the cause of the reformation. His successor Henry.

During the lifetime of his brother, Henry had possessed little or nothing beyond the small territory of Freyburg. In that district, however, he had been careful to introduce reformation. In the year 1536, the elector had sent James Schenckius to assist him in that object. Schenckius, though unordained, preached to large congregations;[2] and the work seemed likely to proceed with great success. The effects, however, of duke George's hostility were to be apprehended; in consequence of which Henry applied, early in 1537, to the confederates assembled at Smalkald, for ad-

[1] Robertson, iii. 167, 168.

[2] See Seck. iii. 160. However others may object to the proceedings of Schenckius, 'sacris nondum initiatus,' it does not appear that the Roman catholics could very consistently do it, among whom laymen were permitted not only to be cardinals, but to hold bishoprics! Of this we shall see instances.

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mission into the league; which was accordingly granted him; though, on account of the smallness of his resources, he was for the present excused from contributing towards its support. Thus secured, and aided by ordained ministers furnished by the elector, he boldly urged forward the work of reformation. He had, however, immediately to encounter the opposition of George, who expostulated with him as going contrary to the purposes, and even the promises, which he had expressed, of making no changes till a council should have defined what reformation ought to take place, and by what means it might properly be effected. He implored him not rashly to adopt a course of proceeding unworthy of his family, and contrary to his duty; not to listen to people in whose estimation "unbelief was the only sin;" or, while he pretended "to seek the gospel in barns and cellars," to risk not only the peace of his country but the ruin of his soul. "Did he plead conscience? He had only to look to himself, and not trouble his mind about others. I myself, (said George,) if power in religious matters had been assigned me by the word of God, or committed to me by the pope and the emperor, should long ago have reformed what I considered as abuses: but, finding myself possessed of no such authority, I determine to make no innovations till a council shall direct them." If Henry would persist, he declares that he should feel it necessary to report his conduct to the emperor.

Henry, however, was not thus to be satisfied or impeded. He professed himself to be convinced from the holy scriptures, that the doctrines and practices hitherto received in his country were contrary to the word of God, and

dangerous to the souls of men: and therefore he could not in conscience postpone a change till it should have been decreed by a council. He would, however, deprive no one of his rights, nor impose on any persons what might be contrary to their consciences; and he hoped in all things so to conduct himself that he could justify his proceedings to the emperor. He adds, that the people were so desirous of reformation, that they would be ready to raise tumults should he withhold it. He trusts, therefore, that, as his brother and he now distinctly understood one another, George would no more attempt to obstruct him, than he himself should interfere with the course in which George thought proper to persevere; and declares that there was nothing which he more earnestly desired, than to preserve unbroken that brotherly friendship which had subsisted between them. He concluded, as George had done, with praying God to enlighten him, and guide him to what was good and salutary.[1]

A. D. 1539.

Such is the substance of a pretty full correspondence which passed between the two brothers. It exhibits a specimen of the opposition which true religion must ever experience from the bigoted, the worldly-minded, and the self-satisfied: and, on the whole, that opposition appears in this instance to have been met with becoming firmness, meekness, and a competent share of Christian wisdom.

A visitation of the district of Freyburg, upon the plan which had been successfully adopted in the electorate,[2] was carried into effect under the direction of Spalatinus, (invited thither for

[1] Seck. iii. 158, 159.

[2] Above, p. 171.

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the purpose,) Schenckius, Anthony a Schönberg,[1] and the consul of Freyburg.[2]

Efforts of George to prevent reformation after his death.

After this correspondence George appears to have left Henry unmolested in his proceedings within his own small territory; but he was exceedingly anxious to prevent the introduction of similar changes into ducal[3] Saxony after his own decease. Among the expedients to which he had recourse for this purpose, we may reckon a sort of compromise which he attempted, by proposing a partial reformation conducted according to a different model, and on this basis a reconciliation between the two parties. He had himself been originally bred to the church, and had held a canonry.[4] He well knew therefore the manners of the clergy, and, on this and other grounds, the necessity which existed for reformation. A strong desire of it, he was sensible, prevailed among numbers of his own subjects.[5] Hence he had, in the year 1534, promoted some conferences at Leipsic:[6] and now again, in 1538, his principal minister Carlevitz, an acute man, possessing considerable insight into the real state of things, made representations to Pontanus leading to the renewal of such conference. Carlevitz admitted the great necessity of reformation, and that it was not to be hoped for from the clergy, who might sacrifice, indeed, some points of doctrine, and some of the less important ceremonies, but would yield nothing which should threaten in the least degree to touch their power, their

[1] Above p. 170. [2] Seck. iii. 160.

[3] I am aware that this epithet is not strictly correct: but it may serve to distinguish the dominions of the prince who was simply *duke*, from him who was *also elector* of Saxony.

[4] Ib. 212 (a). [5] Above p. 170. [6] Seck. iii. 90.

wealth, or their luxury. He proposed, therefore, that the subject should be taken up by the princes generally: that they should make it a common cause, and urge it upon the clergy that a reformation must and should take place. The scriptures and the first four councils he wished to be made the rule whereby this reformation should be conducted; as likewise such practices of the church as could be shewn to be of eight hundred or a thousand years standing; but that what was not thus sanctioned should be abolished. He thought that they might depart a little from the strict rule of scripture for the sake of concord. These suggestions, he said, he submitted not by the authority of his master; yet he knew that they corresponded with his sentiments; and he thought they would meet the views of the emperor, who, though he could not at the present crisis forfeit the support of the pope, yet would not be sorry to have reformation more loudly demanded of him by the princes. He proposed, therefore, that select persons should meet at Leipsic, at the time of the next fair, to draw up a scheme of reformation upon these principles, which should afterwards be submitted to a council to be held in Germany. A. D. 1539.

A conference did in consequence take place at Leipsic in January, 1539. Luther said, nothing was to be expected from it. He did not, however, disapprove of Melancthon's being deputed with Pontanus to attend it. They met Carlevitz and Fachsius, commissioned by duke George, and Bucer with the chancellor of Hesse, sent by the landgrave. Carlevitz, however, here rather drew back from the proposals which he had formerly made; there appeared reason to suspect that the whole had been the contrivance of a man, who had so entirely forfeited

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the confidence of the reformers,[1] that Carlevitz himself had excepted him from being a party to the conference; and the measure proved as abortive as all other attempts of the kind had done, and must ever do.[2]

When this expedient failed, George had recourse to another which must be considered as reflecting dishonour upon his memory. He had one surviving son, an idiot, who had been pronounced incapable of reigning, or of entering into any of the relations of life.[3] George, however, now determined, according to a threat which he had some time before held out,[4] to have him married, and to appoint him his successor. Accordingly he was married, in January 1539, to a daughter of Eric, one of the counts of Mansfeld, but died within a month![5]

Being disappointed here also, his next step was to make a will, binding Henry, as the condition of succeeding him, to maintain the ancient religion, and accede to the catholic league; and, in case of his failure to do this, directing his dominions, as has already been stated, to pass to the emperor and king Ferdinand, till a catholic heir should arise. This will he produced at the funeral of his son, desiring the confirmation of it by his nobles. They, however, foreseeing the consequences of such a measure, advised him first to communicate it to his brother, and demand his concurrence with it. Henry, as might have been expected, rejected every such engagement, and asserted his right to the succession, which could not be impeached by any testamentary disposition made by his brother. Sleidan says, Henry remarked,

[1] Vicelius. See Seck. iii. 65.
[2] Seck. iii. 208—212. Compare 557—559.
[3] Seck. iii. 208 (1). [4] Ib. 160 (a). [5] Ib. 212.

that, in the embassy sent to him with these proposals, he seemed to himself to behold an image of Satan offering to Christ the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, on condition that he should fall down and worship him.[1] —Henry was next desired to send over immediately some trusty persons to whom more acceptable terms might be proposed: and he in consequence himself set out for Dresden on the seventeenth of April, but was met on the road by messengers announcing the death of George on that same day. George was sixty-eight years of age, and had been for some weeks confined to his bed, so that he had not been able personally to consult with his ambassadors on their return from his brother Henry, nor to sign the will respecting which he had been so anxious, though his chancellor had waited upon him early in the morning for that purpose.[2] The pastor of Dresden, when George's death approached, exhorted him to call upon S. James, whom he had ever considered as in a special manner his patron saint: but some noblemen, standing by, repelled the priest, and exhorted the duke to call upon Christ, which he accordingly did in few but emphatic words.—George was a person of talents, and of many social virtues as a man and a prince, but a bigoted and persecuting zealot in the cause of popery— "most unhappy," as Seckendorf observes, "in his aversion to the light of the gospel which had arisen upon him."[3]

A. D. 1539.

[1] Sleid. 249. Compare Seck. iii. 212 (5).

[2] It would seem also that there were other informalities in the will, and indeed that it was so drawn, as not to convey, even if it had possessed any validity, the sovereignty to the house of Austria. Seck. iii. 214 (9).

[3] Seck. iii. 208, 212.

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Henry arrived at Dresden the same evening, and was received with every demonstration of respect and of joy; even those, who during George's lifetime had declared that they would leave all behind them, and go into exile, rather than witness any change of religion, now vying with one another in their testimonies of regard for their new master.[1] So great is the difference between a dead prince and a living one!

Reformation of Ducal Saxony.

Maimbourg represents the change of religion which ensued as rapid indeed: "At Leipsic, Luther, in one day, and by one sermon turned the whole city from catholic to protestant!" And his remark upon it is in all respects worthy of its author. "So frail," says he, "is the foundation of the religion of these miserable nations, who are ever ready to embrace, not what may be pleasing to God, but what may gratify their princes."[2] Nothing could be more contrary to the fact in the present instance. The truth is, as Dr. Robertson has justly stated, that the people "had long wished for this change, which the authority of their duke alone had hitherto prevented."[3]

But the proceedings in this important case, which was big with great consequences to Germany, deserve to be more particularly related.

Henry, it is to be observed, was a man of rather inferior talents.[4] He was now also become old and feeble;[5] and his zeal in the protestant cause, though sincere, can hardly, I fear, be shewn to have been so warm and persevering as that of his predecessor had been[6]

[1] Seck. iii. 213, 214. [2] Ib. iii. 208.
[3] Ib. iii. 217, and, at 244, the testimony of Card. Sadolet.
[4] Ib. 159 (7). [5] Ib. 214 (9).
[6] Robertson, above. Compare Seck. iii. 223 (2).

in the opposite interest. He had the wisdom, however, to place himself under the direction of the elector and other able counsellors, and under their guidance he at present proceeded with vigour and success. A. D. 1539.

The first opposition offered to his designs was from king Ferdinand, who urged that the extension of the reformation was contrary to the pacification of Nuremberg and the convention of Francfort, and that its introduction into Henry's new dominions would be a violation of the rights of the bishops of Misnia and Mersburg. Henry found it not difficult, however, to reply to these arguments. [1] Opposition from Ferdinand,

The bishop of Misnia himself next addressed him, deprecating unlawful and unnecesary innovations. He proposed to introduce all proper reformation himself, and sent to the duke by his dean, Julius Pflug, (a name afterwards somewhat distinguished in these controversies,) a sort of 'Necessary Erudition of a Christian man,' consisting of 195 folio pages, which he proposed to make the basis of reformation. Henry sent the book to the elector, desiring his judgment and that of his divines upon it; and the manuscript exists to this day at Weimar with the marginal annotations of Luther, Melancthon, and Pontanus, and accompanied by a letter of considerable length, in which the two former, with Justus Jonas, deliver their sentiments concerning it. It appears to be specious, to have borrowed much from the reformers, [2] where this could be done without impugning Romish tenets, and to be such a document as "had not before proceeded from episcopal and the Bishop of Misnia.

1 Seck. iii. 214. add. 3.

2 "Testantur se commentum reperisse—suis plumis ornatum."

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authority:" it professedly passed over, however, many material points, under the pretence that the knowledge of "them was not necessary to the people;" and on the whole it was pronounced unsatisfactory and unsound.[1]—Further correspondence followed with the bishops both of Misnia and Mersburg,[2] but without its having the effect of staying the proposed reformation.

So strong had been the inclination of George's subjects towards a reformation, that nothing could restrain them, even during his lifetime, from going to hear Lutheran preachers, conversing with their people, and reading their books; and no doubt the duke's prohibition of such practices had only quickened the zeal or curiosity of multitudes. He had himself found reason to complain, not only that his university of Leipsic had fallen to decay, but that his monasteries were deserted, and more than three hundred of his cures left destitute of priests.[3]

Assistance of the Elector.

The elector and the landgrave lost no time in offering Henry the most effectual assistance and support, and advised that no delay should

[1] Seck. iii. 215, 216.—Luther and his friends remark, that this writing somewhat indefinitely "ascribed remission of sins to faith in Christ," but avoided the exclusive term *only*, that an opening might be left "for a subtle admixture of works with faith in procuring our justification." They add, that it ought to have spoken more distinctly of "renovation" and its consequences; for that many of the Romanists confessed, that a man was "renewed by faith alone in his *first justification*, but that a *second* followed, which was founded on his own virtues."—Had not a more watchful and discerning eye been kept upon these points by the reformers, than is done or even approved by many who would now be thought "master-builders," "the truth of the gospel" would have "remained" in our churches even much less than it has done. [2] Seck. iii. 217. [3] Ib. 217. Above, p. 180.

take place in introducing reformation, as this might only give opportunity to those who desired it to organize opposition. The elector, though he had some variances with Henry, or rather with his wife, (who took an active part in public affairs,) immediately set out to visit him, sacrificing every other consideration to that which he had most at heart. The account of the proceedings, written by the elector himself, is still preserved. He took with him Myconius, the pastor of Gotha, and he mentions with great pleasure hearing him and Henry Lindeman preach to immense congregations at Annaberg, on the fourth of May. He soon after proceeded to Leipsic, accompanied by Luther. On Whitsunday (May 25th,) papal rites were abolished there, Luther preached before the duke and the elector, and the sacrament was administered with scriptural simplicity. "Thus," says the elector, "was fulfilled Luther's prediction, uttered many years before, when he heard of George's increasing severities, 'I shall live to see his whole family extinct, and to preach the word of God at Leipsic.'" Luther preached here repeatedly. Justus Jonas also joined and assisted him; and it is recorded that, on their mentioning in their sermon sthe divine goodness in delivering the place from papal bondage and persecution, the audience "fell on their knees, and with many tears returned thanks to God."

A. D. 1539.

Luther preaches at Leipsic.

By the advice and with the assistance of his friends from the electorate, Henry caused a visitation to be made throughout his dominions, comprising about a thousand parishes. It was conducted but hastily, and no satisfactory provision could at present be made for the in-

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struction of the people, for want of competent teachers: some pious ministers, however, were invited from the neighbouring countries, and what was now done prepared the way for a more efficient reformation in the churches and the schools soon after, under the government of Henry's sons. The senate of Leipsic would gladly have obtained Caspar Cruciger, a native of their city, but now engaged at Wittemberg, to be settled among them: but Luther declared that he could not possibly be spared from his present situation, where he shewed himself a most able master in his theological lectures, and that that department ought to devolve upon Cruciger, when he himself should be removed. The elector therefore refused to part with him; but Myconius, who was highly esteemed there, was allowed to continue his faithful services at Leipsic for eighteen months. —This excellent minister, in the course of his correspondence, gives the elector an account of a public dispute which he and Cruciger (who had visited him for the occasion,) had been enabled to maintain, for eight hours together, in support of their doctrines, before the whole university and a large and splendid audience; and, as he trusts, with the best effect. The rector of the university, and some masters, assisted on the protestant side.

Much room was given to retort upon the papal clergy that reflection which Maimbourg has groundlessly cast upon the people of those parts. Though no force was used, they almost to a man acceded to the new regulations. Among the leading dignitaries, the dean alone, Julius Pflug, openly adhered to the old system. Cochlæus and Vicelius, whom the late duke had

supported as a sort of champions in the papal cause, withdrew from the country.[1] A. D. 1539.

Other important changes, still tending to the advancement of the protestant religion, followed. They are thus stated by Maimbourg. Reformation of Brandenburg, "Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg, who, after the example of his father Joachim, a zealous catholic, had hitherto professed the ancient religion, now yielded to the earnest entreaties of the states of his dominions, who offered him as an inducement the liquidation of all his debts; and he made the same changes in his provinces as Henry had made in his. And even his uncle Albert archbishop of Mentz, and Magdeburg. though himself a devoted catholic, was compelled to bow before the torrent that swept across the north of Germany, and to allow to his dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt the liberty of embracing the confession of Augsburg."[2]

This brief but striking statement, which tells important truths sorely contrary to the writer's wishes, will deserve to be corrected and enlarged from authors who looked with a different eye upon the facts recorded. We may observe, however, on the very first view of it, that it furnishes an antidote to the misrepresentation of the sentences immediately preceding. There these changes in religion were attributed to the ca-

[1] Seck. iii. 217—222. This excellent writer states, that, owing to one cause or other, he had never been allowed to examine the archives of Dresden, (which would furnish much fuller information upon all these events,) though those archives had been ordered to be opened to him by a rescript of the elector of Saxony, which he annexes to his preface. He hopes that they will not always remain unexplored. 217 (l).

[2] In Seck. iii. 233, 234. Magdeburg and Halberstadt formed a separate archbishopric, which Albert held along with that of Mentz.

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price of princes, to which the fickleness of the people was ever ready to conform itself: but here we find the popular torrent in favour of reformation was so strong, and that not only among the lower orders, but even in the assembled "states" of the provinces, that the most powerful and most zealous catholic princes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, were obliged to give way to it!

Joachim II.

The history of Joachim II. will be found interesting. The reader will have in remembrance the zeal of his father for popery at the period of the diet of Augsburg. It was so great as led him to carry persecution into the bosom of his own family. He had married

His mother

Elizabeth the sister of Christiern II, the (expelled) king of Denmark, and niece of John, elector of Saxony. She was inclined to the doctrine of the reformers, and had received the sacrament

and sister.

in both kinds. Her own daughter, named also Elizabeth, was the person to discover this to Joachim, who was so incensed that he confined her to her own apartments, and was understood to be taking measures for her perpetual imprisonment. In consequence of this she fled from Berlin, and came to her uncle the elector of Saxony in a mere rustic car, and with only one female attendant. This was in the year 1528. The elector received her, and she continued in his dominions till the year 1546. Here she cultivated the acquaintance of Luther, and sometimes spent several months together at his house, deeply engaged in the study of the word of God.[1]

It is remarkable that the daughter who thus "betrayed her own mother," not indeed "to

[1] Luth. and Spalatin. in Seck. ii. 122.

death," but to bonds or to exile, herself, within ten years, embraced the faith she had, not in this instance only but in others,[1] laboured "to destroy," and became zealous in its support. The elector of Saxony, indeed, looked upon both her sincerity and her prudence with some distrust: but his caution seems to have been in this instance excessive: she continued steadfast in the good cause, and after the death of her husband, Eric duke of Brunswick, effected the full reformation of that dutchy.[2] A. D. 1539.

Such being the temper and the principles of the elder Joachim, there could be no doubt of the care which would be taken, in the education of his son and heir, to fix him in the tenets of the catholic church. This was made an object of special attention, both to Joachim himself and to his brother the archbishop of Mentz; and, as if to render the barrier thus placed around the young man insurmountable, he was married to the daughter of the inveterate George duke of Saxony. An apparently accidental circumstance, however, defeated all these precautions. In the year 1519, the younger Joachim, while yet only a boy of fourteen, accompanied his father to Francfort, to the diet which raised Charles V. to the imperial throne. On the way, at Wittemberg, he happened to hear Luther discourse on the articles of the Christian faith, and particularly on that of justification; and was much captivated with him. Thus appears to have been sown in the mind of the youth that seed, which, fostered by his mother's pious care, afterwards richly expanded itself; and to this occurrence, probably, it may be traced that Prussia is at the present day a protestant kingdom! His education. His impression in favour of Protestantism.

[1] Seck. iii. 90, 91. [2] Ib. ii. 122, iii. 182.

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Several years indeed passed, as might have been expected, ere the impression which had been made produced its effects, and ere Joachim was brought openly to avow himself on the side of the reformation. During the lifetime of his father, however, in the year 1532, while he was himself leading the troops of Saxony to the Turkish war, we find him in correspondence with Luther, and affording to the reformer much satisfaction by the spirit which he manifested.[1] In 1535, his father died, and he succeeded him: and the next year the landgrave addressed to him a very excellent letter, which we should have had greater pleasure in quoting, had the character of the writer been more consistent with the principles he professed. It was designed to confirm Joachim in his attachment to scriptural doctrine, and to excite him to a bold avowal of it. "You know," he says, "that we must all die, and that the time of our death is altogether uncertain: you know also the words of Christ, *What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?* Many," he observes, "and *one in particular*,[2] would aim to draw him away from the truth of the gospel; but he trusts he would stand firm, alike against threats and caresses, and prefer the glory of God to all that the world could offer."[3]—Still, however, Joachim had not the courage to act up to this advice, or various considerations restrained and, I fear we must say, ensnared him. From his accession, indeed, he willingly connived at the introduction of evangelical teachers amongst his subjects; but it was slowly and gradually that he was induced to go fur-

His accession. 1535.

[1] Seck. iii. 40 (4).
[2] George, the landgrave's father-in-law, as well as Joachim's.
[3] Seck. iii. 125.

ther.[1] His brother, the margrave John, who according to the customs of Germany inherited a part of his father's dominions, outstripped him in his religious course, by publicly establishing the reformation throughout his territories, in the year 1538. At length, however, perhaps excited by his brother's example, Joachim adopted more decisive measures, and, in the year 1539, published such an ecclesiastical regulation, both for doctrine and discipline, as could scarcely have been surpassed, especially under the head of doctrine, had Luther himself drawn it up. A. D. 1539.

His Ecclesiastical Regulation.

From this document, a few sentences, bearing especially upon the great doctrine of justification, may deserve to be transcribed. They may serve to shew, how uniformly that doctrine, upon this fundamental point, which numbers to this day so much revile, and numbers more, by every refinement, or rather perversion, strive to evade, was maintained by the reformers of different countries. "This," says the regulation, "is the chief topic of all, and herein lies the whole sum of the gospel, namely, in its being taught clearly and purely, and held fast even unto death, in spite of all contradiction that can be offered to it, that we obtain the remission of sins, justification, and final and eternal salvation, by the mere grace of God, and only through faith in the redemption of Christ, and by no worthiness, work, or desert of our own." The necessity of retaining the exclusive term *only*—"that we are justified by faith *only*, without our own works"—is then insisted on; and the term is affirmed to be fully borne out by the tenor of scripture, and to be indispen-

Justification:

[1] Seck. iii. 234, 182.

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sable to the purity of the doctrine,[1] and to the peace and safety of distressed consciences; and "many," it is declared, "who now preach concerning faith, but avoid this assertion of its exclusive efficacy, are to be regarded as suspicious and dangerous teachers."[2]—The document then proceeds to answer those who reproach, and those also who abuse the doctrine, as if it superseded the necessity of good works. —"The true statement is by no means to be abandoned or obscured on account of such persons. The doctrine of the divine law is in the first instance to be inculcated. The suitable fruits of repentance and faith are to be required. The power and nature of faith are to be explained, which are such, that it cannot exist in a heart that is hard, proud, ungodly, and insensible of sin and of the divine wrath against it: for faith is no cold and idle opinion: on the contrary it is earnest, efficacious, and active; so that the soul which seriously *believes*, and apprehends first the anger of God on account of its sin, and then his grace independently of any merits of its own, cannot but be filled with unspeakable joy and hope and consolation, derived from the grace of God, and with ardent love towards him; and, as he commands, towards its neighbour also. Hence proceed all good works"—which the paper then describes in detail. After having done this, it remarks: "The term *only*, annexed to faith, by no means excludes these, as if they were not to be done: for it is one thing to do good works, and another to be saved by them. They are to be done, but they avail not to salvation: therefore the Son of God must die; and to this point [that is, to

how to be preached.

The term *faith only*.

[1] Above, p. 89, 99.

[2] In Seck. iii. 237.

our becoming interested in his salvation] faith alone relates. We ought to do good works from obedience to God, for the glory of his name, for the benefit of our neighbour, and to prove the sincerity of our faith. For, as faith soars upwards, bringing us into the favour of God, so works descend downwards, proving us to be in his favour.[1] Yet faith does not procure our salvation by its intrinsic merit, but by embracing the divine promise. Thus we have righteousness before God, and salvation by faith only; but from this faith, through divine grace, good works do spring."—These, it is then observed, are to be set forth from the decalogue; and the people are at the same time to be instructed, that, "though the observance of the law is to human strength impossible, yet the Holy Spirit is given to us by God; and that through his grace the yoke of Christ becomes easy and pleasant to us: and, though in this life we can never attain perfection, and must remain under the perpetual care and regimen of the heavenly physician, nevertheless God will graciously bestow eternal rewards on the incipient obedience of his faithful and reconciled people, and will crown, not indeed human merits, but his own gifts in them."[2]

A. D. 1539.

Good works

This regulation or constitution was drawn up by James Stratner, the court preacher at Anspach, and George Buchholzer, superintendant of Berlin. They communicated with Luther respecting it, who objected to nothing but that too many ceremonies were retained; some of which, however, he trusted time would do away. The elector of Brandenburg sub-

[1] So I paraphrase the words, "Sicut enim fides officium suum præstat sursum erga Deum, ita opera id præstant deorsum."

[2] Seck. iii. 237, 238.

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mitted it not only to his counsellors, but to the states of his dominions, and, having obtained their approbation, he published it, and appointed a visitation throughout his provinces to be conducted in conformity with it.[1]

Importance of the Reformation of Brandenburg.

Of the importance of this reformation, Seckendorf remarks, no one can doubt, who considers the ample extent of the provinces concerned: and to us its importance must appear still more striking when we consider, that the electorate of Brandenburg has since grown into the kingdom of Prussia. We can only say, on considering the subsequent course of things, Oh that the pure doctrine thus introduced had ever been received in faith and love, and had produced its genuine holy fruits on all who professed to embrace it!

The elector of Brandenburg, indeed, never acceded to the league of Smalkald, as his brother did; but he seems to have declined this in the hope of being enabled, with less prejudice, to promote the more extensive reformation of Germany at large.[2] There appears, however, no reason to doubt his sincerity and zeal. He actually accomplished more than Luther conceived would have been found practicable. In a letter to him, dated December 4, 1539, the reformer expresses his joy and thankfulness to God for what had taken place, and owns that he had doubted whether the elector could surmount the obstacles opposed to him; so much so, as hitherto to have abstained from exhorting him. But God, he says, "performs all things beyond our powers and our hopes."[3]

Among the epistles of Melancthon is preserved one of considerable length, drawn up

[1] Seck. iii. 235, 236. [2] Ib. 236 (7). [3] Ib. 236.

by him for the elector Joachim, and addressed to Sigismund king of Poland, whose daughter Joachim had married for his second wife, and on whom he was dependent for some part of his dominions. It is dated in October 1539, and is intended to explain and justify the steps which the elector had taken. It is written in a respectful and affectionate style, yet with becoming firmness; and the following passage exhibits a pleasing picture of the piety of the elector's retired life.—Speaking of his wife, (Sigismund's daughter,) and of the happiness he enjoyed, and should ever be careful to preserve, in his marriage with her, he says, "She knows that religion is a matter of earnest concern with me, and that my mind abhors all unrighteous counsels. And, as it is our mutual desire that God should be glorified in our connexion, we often unite in prayer, and often discourse together on the divine commandments, on the hope of eternal life, and on the blessings derived from Christ."[1]

A. D. 1539.

Letter to the King of Poland.

Maimbourg represents Joachim as bribed to make this change in religion, and as having been a good catholic till the states offered to pay his debts if he would comply with their wishes: and protestant writers have indeed related that such a promise was made him,[2] though Seckendorf found no notice of it in any of the original papers submitted to his inspection. Certainly, however, his attachment to the reformed doctrines, long before this time, was notorious: so that at the most he did but receive this provision (perhaps in itself a reasonable one,) in return for acting more openly *according* to his principles; whereas it is known,

Maimbourg's representation.

[1] Melanc. Ep. i. 55. [2] Chytræi Saxonia, lib. xii.

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from authorities with which Maimbourg could not be unacquainted, that, in allowing the reformation of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, the archbishop of Mentz received a similar consideration for acting *contrary* to his principles. Yet not a word upon that subject escapes the popish historian.[1]

Conferences between the Catholics and Protestants;

The history of these more interesting events has withdrawn our attention from the conference which was to be held, in pursuance of the convention of Francfort, between select persons of the contending parties; who were to endeavour to draw up articles of accommodation between them, to be submitted to the next diet.[2] The futility of all such attempts must be obvious to any one who considers the nature of their differences, and that they stood irreconcilably opposed to each other upon such fundamental points, as the very rule by which controversies were to be decided, and the authority of the pope to decide them, in a summary and absolute manner. Where no beneficial result, therefore, could ensue, the detail of proceedings would only be wearisome, and often vexatious. The emperor, however, seems to have entertained the hope, that accommodation might be effected, and hence to have sincerely desired the conference.[3] To the protestants all such proceedings were useful, both because they gained them time, which was highly for their advantage, and also because they accustomed men to see religious questions brought under discussion, instead of being submitted to the absolute dictation of the pope. On this very account they were

[1] Seck. iii. 241. On the whole subject of this reformation, see Seck. iii. 234—241.

[2] Above, p. 205.

[3] Seck. iii. 270.

objects of high offence to the court of Rome, which regarded the proposal of them as little short of an act of treason and rebellion against the church; and accordingly stigmatized Vesalius archbishop of Lund,[1] the emperor's ambassador at the diet of Francfort, who had proposed the conference, as a traitor that had sold himself to the Lutherans. The archbishop, who appears to have been a well-intentioned man, inclined to moderate and pacific counsels,[2] treated these charges with the contempt they deserved:[3] but the opposition of the pope and his devoted adherents had the effect of long delaying and greatly interrupting the execution of the proposed measure. A meeting was to have been held at Nuremberg in August 1539, preparatory to such conference: and the protestants early appointed a goodly list of persons, venerable in the annals of reformation,[4] to attend this meeting. It did not, however, take place; nor does any thing appear to have been done till June, 1540. Then, in the words of Dr. Robertson, "in a diet held at Haguenau,[5] matters were ripened for the conference. In another diet assembled at Worms,"[6] in December following, "the conference was begun, Melancthon on the one side, and Eccius on the other, sustaining the principal part in the dispute;[7] but, after they had made some progress,

A. D. 1540.

at Haguenau,

Worms,

[1] In Sweden. He was a native of Germany, and had been deprived and banished, when Christiern II, king of Denmark, was expelled from Sweden, and eventually from Denmark also. He was afterwards made bishop of Constance. Sleid. 248.

[2] Seck. iii. 299 (c). [3] Ib. 203 (12), 206. [4] Ib. 203, 205.

[5] Sleid. 267, 268. Seck. iii. 258, 270.

[6] Sleid. 270, 271. Seck. iii. 294—299.

[7] Calvin was one of those who attended on this occasion. —It is a curious circumstance, that, in this conference, the

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though without concluding any thing, it was suspended by the emperor's command, that it might be renewed with greater solemnity in his own presence, in a diet summoned to meet at Ratisbon. This assembly was opened with great pomp," April 5th, 1541,[1] "and with a general expectation that its proceedings would be vigorous and decisive. By the consent of both parties, the emperor was entrusted with the power of nominating the persons who should manage the conference, which it was agreed should be conducted not in the form of a public disputation, but as a friendly scrutiny or examination into the articles which had given rise to the present controversies. He appointed Eccius, Gropper, and Pflug, on the part of the catholics; Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius,[2] on that of the protestants; all men of distinguished reputation among their own adherents, and, except Eccius, all eminent for moderation, as well as desirous of peace."[3]

and Ratisbon.

So far we may adopt the statement of this

catholic deputies, finding that those of the elector palatine, the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Juliers, whom they had reckoned to be on their side, were likely to vote against them, and thus to leave them in the minority, of their own accord adopted the principle for which the protestants had ever contended; namely, that questions of truth and duty could not be decided by a majority of votes, so as to bind those who conscientiously differed from the decision: and they accordingly induced Granvelle and his associates, who presided as the ministers and representatives of the emperor and king Ferdinand, to lay it down, that each party should vote, not individually but collectively, thus reducing the whole number of votes to two—one catholic and one protestant; a mode of proceeding, which though it must almost necessarily lead to no conclusion, would save the catholics from being outvoted. Seck. iii. 295, 296. Melancthon published an account of this dispute. Opera, iv. 644 &c.

[1] Sleid. 275, 276, 278—283. Seck. iii. 349—369.

[2] Pastor of Nidda.

[3] Robertson, iii. 210.

accomplished historian, as conveying a correct abstract of the proceedings on this occasion: in what follows, where opinion is equally involved with matter of fact, we must regard his representations with caution, or even with distrust. A. D. 1541.

"As they were about to begin their consultations," he states, "the emperor put into their hands a book, composed, as he said, by a learned divine in the Low-Countries, with such extraordinary perspicuity and temper, as, in his opinion, might go far to unite and comprehend the two contending parties. Gropper, a canon of Cologne, whom he had named among the managers of the conference, a man of address as well as of erudition, was afterwards suspected to be the author of this short treatise. It contained positions with regard to twenty-two of the chief articles in theology, which included most of the questions then agitated in the controversy between the Lutherans and the church of Rome. By ranging his sentiments in a natural order, and expressing them with great simplicity; by employing often the very words of scripture, or of the primitive fathers; by softening the rigour of some opinions, and explaining away what was absurd in others; by concessions, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other; and especially by banishing as much as possible scholastic phrases, those words and terms of art in controversy, which serve as badges of distinction to different sects, and for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themselves; he at last framed his work in such a manner, as promised fairer than any thing that had hitherto been attempted, to compose and to terminate religious dissensions."[1] Book submitted by the emperor.

[1] Robertson, iii. 211.

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Remarks on Dr. Robertson.

It is manifest what is the character that Dr. Robertson here affects, which is that of the philosopher and the statesman, in preference, if not to the disparagement of that of the Christian divine. This is entirely to the taste of the times, and will be sure to secure him the praise of large and liberal views, among those who regard a high sense of the importance of revealed truth, and all "contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints,"[1] as the infallible mark of narrow mindedness and bigotry. Yet it would not be easy, perhaps, to give a better description, couched in the language of a friend to such measures, than that which Dr. R. has here supplied, of the plausible arts by which attempts have in all ages been made to fritter away the great truths of the gospel, sometimes one sometimes another, 'till none were left.' Listen even to the Unitarian: what does he aim at, but 'a natural order' —'great simplicity'—'the very words of scripture,' exclusively of all others, and indeed of many of *them*—'to soften the rigour of some opinions'—to 'explain away absurdities'—to 'banish scholastic phrases,' and 'terms of art,' the 'badges of distinction to different sects, for which theologians often contend more fiercely than for opinions themselves'—and thus 'to compose and terminate religious dissensions?' Let me not be misunderstood: far be it from me to insinuate that Dr. R. would designedly furnish a screen, under which Socinian errors should be covertly introduced: far be it from me also to deny, that there are truth and propriety in some of the suggestions which he would here convey: all error has some truth at

[1] Jude 3. Compare John xvii. 17; xxiii. 37. Gal. i. 6—9; ii. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21. 2 Tim. iv. 1—4. &c.

the bottom of it: but the whole passage is dangerous—from many writers I should style it *insidious*—and the more dangerous as proceeding from so high an authority, and being precisely adapted to the prejudices of the age in which we live. A. D. 1541.

The interests of divine truth have little to fear from open opposition, compared with what is to be apprehended from indifference, and frequently from plausible but enfeebled statements, which preserve perhaps the form or the semblance of sound doctrine, or what *may* be construed to imply it, but from which all the "vivida vis," the "igneus vigor"—the force and spirit of truth have been evaporated.

Gropper's book, we shall find reason to conclude was of this kind: and it met with the fate which must ever attend all such attempts to unite what is irreconcilable[1]—it pleased neither party—rather it much offended both. Dr. Robertson goes on to remark: "But the attention of the age was turned, with such acute observation, towards theological controversies, that it was not easy to impose on it by any gloss, how artful or specious soever. The length and eagerness of the dispute[2] had separated the two parties so completely, and had set their minds at such variance, that they were not to be reconciled by partial concessions. All the zealous catholics, particularly the ecclesiastics who had a seat in the diet, joined in condemning Gropper's treatise as too favourable to the Lutheran opinion, the poison of which heresy

Character and fate of the book.

[1] The reader may be referred to the observations made on Erasmus's treatise on religious Concord, at the beginning of the third chapter.

[2] And surely something beyond its "length and eagerness!"

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it conveyed, as they pretended, with greater danger because it was in some degree disguised. The rigid protestants, especially Luther himself, and his patron the elector of Saxony, were for rejecting it as an impious compound of error and truth, craftily prepared that it might impose on the weak, the timid, and the unthinking."—It is true, as our author observes, that "the divines, to whom the examination of the book was committed, entered upon that business with greater deliberation and temper. As it was more easy in itself, as well as more consistent with the dignity of the church to make concessions, and even alterations, with regard to speculative opinions,[1] the discussion whereof is confined chiefly to the schools, and which present nothing to the people that strikes their imagination or affects their senses, they came to accommodation about these without much labour, and even defined the great article concerning justification to their mutual satisfaction. But, when they proceeded to points of jurisdiction, where the interest and authority of the Roman see were concerned, or to the rites and forms of external worship, where every change that could be made must be public, and draw the observation of the people, there the catholics were altogether untractable; nor could the church either with safety or with honour abolish its ancient institutions. All the articles relative to the power of the pope, the authority of councils, the administration of the sacraments, the worship of saints, and many other particulars, did not, in their nature, admit of any temperament; so that, after labouring

[1] This too common appellation, so improper as applied to Christian doctrines, may be allowed to pass in this connexion, and as illustrated by the contrast in which it stands.

long to bring about an accommodation with respect to these, the emperor found all his endeavours ineffectual.—Being impatient, however, to close the diet, he at last prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following recess: That the articles, concerning which the divines had agreed in the conference, should be observed inviolably by all; that the other articles, about which they had differed, should be referred to the determination of a general council, or, if that could not be obtained, to a national synod of Germany; and, if it should prove impracticable likewise to assemble a synod, that a general diet of the empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give some final judgment upon the whole controversy; that the emperor should use all his interest and authority with the pope, to procure the meeting either of a general council or a synod; that in the mean time no innovations should be attempted, no endeavours should be employed to gain proselytes, and neither the revenues of the church nor the rights of monasteries should be invaded.

A. D. 1541.

Recess of the diet of Ratisbon. 1541. July 28.

All the proceedings of this diet, as well as the recess in which they terminated, gave great offence to the pope. The power, which the Germans had assumed, of appointing their own divines to examine and determine matters of controversy, he considered as a very dangerous invasion of his rights; the renewing of their ancient proposal concerning a national synod, which had been so often rejected by him and his predecessors, appeared extremely undutiful; but the bare mention of allowing a diet, composed chiefly of laymen,[1] to pass judgment with re-

The Pope disgusted.

[1] I apprehend it is not correct that the *majority* were lay-

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spect to articles of faith, was deemed no less criminal and profane than the worst of those heresies which they seemed zealous to suppress. On the other hand, the protestants were no less dissatisfied with a recess, which considerably abridged the liberty that they enjoyed at that time. As they murmured loudly against it, Charles, unwilling to leave any seeds of discontent in the empire,[1] granted them a private declaration, in the most ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppressive or injurious in the recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed."[2]

Several particulars may be added, and some corrections perhaps made in this account.

Further remarks on the book.

First, we may offer some remarks on the book which occupied so much attention in the conferences at Ratisbon. Whether Gropper, under whose name it commonly passes, was the author of it, is left in uncertainty. The emperor represented it as the work of "certain learned men." Eccius suspected it to have been composed by Vicelius, an apostate from Lutheranism, who from a friend became a bitter enemy to the Saxon reformer;[3] and it does appear that it was the same performance which had before this time been shewn to Luther by the elector of Brandenburg, who entertained a better opinion of Vicelius than others did, and kept up a communication with

men. I find frequent complaints of the princes being outvoted by the ecclesiastical members of the diet: and Sleidan (p. 279.) says expressly, "The senate of princes consists *for the most part* of bishops."

[1] At a time when he had danger to apprehend both from the Turk and from the king of France.

[2] Robertson iii. 212—215.—Sleid. 283. Seck. iii. 366.

[3] Seck. i. 231. iii. 65.

him.[1] This, however, did not render it the more acceptable to Eccius, who hated Vicelius; and he said of it, that "the use and custom of the fathers were therein slighted, and the phrase and cant of Melancthon were to be found in it all over."[2] Maimbourg affirms that it had passed under the eye of Bucer, who had "with subtilty infused the poison of his heresy into it." This, he adds, "was detected by cardinal Contarini," the pope's legate at Ratisbon, "and that he corrected it in twenty articles."[3] The former of these assertions, however, seems to be uncertain, and the latter untrue.[4] The remark which Luther made upon the book, after a cursory inspection, when it was shewn to him at Berlin by the elector of Brandenburg, was, that it would lead only to such a reformation as duke George and the bishop of Misnia proposed.[5] He at this time, after a fuller examination, as it may be presumed, pronounced a severer judgment; that it was "full of artifice and deceit," nay of the machinations of "Satan transformed into an angel of light to deceive."[6] Melancthon in different parts of his writings makes remarks upon it, little to its advantage. "In many instances," he says, "its language may be interpreted in favour of opposite sentiments; it excuses and varnishes over received abuses." "The author has cast a shade over our sentiments, to their prejudice and injury, and advantageously exhibited whatever he thought tolerable on the other side." "Never

A. D. 1541.

[1] Seck. i. 350 (5). 364 (4). [2] Sleid. 282.
[3] In Seck. iii. 348. [4] Seck. iii. 350.
[5] Ibid. See above, p. 248, 253.
[6] Seck. iii. 353 (5). 364 (4). I give what I take to be clearly his intention in the latter passage: "Nil nisi dolos, et angelicæ lucis simulationes et fucos."

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will I admit those articles of the book which we have censured, for they are full of error and deceit. They can only excite new and vehement contentions. . . . Even in what we have allowed to pass, there are many obscurities, and some things almost insulting towards us."[1] —Thus far Melancthon. A pretty copious abstract of its several articles, I presume as corrected by the collocutors in the conference, is furnished by Du Pin; from which I certainly should not have concluded that it deserved the praise of clearness, simplicity, and other like qualities, commended in it by Dr. Robertson.[2]

Article on Justification.

It will no doubt have surprised the reader to be told, that the collocutors had succeeded in "defining the great article concerning justification to their mutual satisfaction." Indeed that statement is too strong. Melancthon himself was not satisfied; and still less were Luther and the elector of Saxony. An article, however, was agreed upon and passed in the conference, subject (as all others were to be,) to the approbation of the diet; and certainly it affords evidence of what Melancthon had formerly asserted, concerning the success of the reformers' arguments, and the ground which had been gained upon this important topic.[3] Though any thing rather than "simple," it yet makes very important concessions, and involves the substance of the true doctrine.[4]

[1] Pezelii Consil. Melanct. i. 447, 457, 458, 467.

[2] See Du Pin, vi. 162—166. Compare Seck. iii. 350, 357—359.

[3] "Controversiam de justificatione ipsa tempora mollierunt. Nam de multis convenit inter doctos, de quibus fuerunt initio magna certamina." Ad Gallos, de moderand. Controv. Pezel. i. 228.

[4] The reader shall have this whole article, as reported by

Some correspondence followed the passing of this article, which strikingly shews the jealous care with which the true doctrine on this fundamental point was then guarded, and which may furnish suggestions by no means superfluous in our own times. A. D. 1541. Correspondence

The elector sharply censured the conduct of Melancthon in deviating from the language of of the Elector

Du Pin, submitted to him, for a specimen, the most favourable one, I think, that could be given of "the book."—"The fifth article, about justification, establishes these three principles beforehand; 1. That it is certain that since the fall of Adam all men are born enemies of God, and children of wrath by sin: 2. That they cannot be reconciled to God, nor redeemed from the bondage of sin, but by Jesus Christ our only mediator: 3. That persons of riper years cannot obtain these graces, unless they be prevented (first visited) by the motions of the Holy Spirit, which (prevenient grace) inclines their mind and will to detest sin: that, after this first motion, their mind is raised up to God, by the faith which (the) man hath in the promises made to him that his sins are freely forgiven him, and that God will adopt those for his children who believe in Jesus Christ.—From these principles it follows, that sinners are justified by a living and effectual faith, which is a motion of the Holy Spirit, whereby, repenting of their lives past, they are raised to God, and made real partakers of the mercy which Jesus Christ hath promised, being satisfied that their sins are forgiven, and that they are reconciled by the merits of Jesus Christ; which no man attains but at the same time love is shed abroad in his heart, and he begins to fulfil the law. So that justifying faith worketh by love, though it *justifies not but as it leads us to mercy and righteousness, which* (righteousness) *is* IMPUTED *to us through Jesus Christ and his merits*, and not by any perfection of righteousness which is *inherent* in us as communicated to us by Jesus Christ. *So that we are not just, or accepted by God, on account of our own works or righteousness, but we are* REPUTED *just on account of the merits of Jesus Christ only.* Yet this is not to hinder us from exhorting the people to increase this faith and this charity by outward and inward works: so that, though the people be taught that *faith alone justifieth*, yet repentance, the fear of God and his judgments, the practice of good works, &c. ought to be preached to them."

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the confession, and admitting "obscure and scholastic terms." The doctrine of justification *by faith alone*, he says, was (in this article) well nigh buried beneath appendages and explanations; and a handle given to their adversaries to represent them as having departed from their original tenets. He would have recourse to Luther, from whose doctrine, as that reformer had ever hitherto proposed it, he would not deviate in this or in any other particular. He insisted that the article, though passed, should not have any validity unless the parties came to agreement on all the other points in debate.

and Luther.

Luther, on being consulted, in some degree apologized for Melancthon; though he allowed that the article was "botched and unsatisfactory." It seemed to him, he said, that his friend had proposed an orthodox formulary, asserting justification by faith alone, without works, according to Romans iii.; but that the collocutors on the contrary part had substituted another, taken from Galatians v., concerning "faith working by love;" and that, this having been rejected by Melancthon, one had been formed out of the two, which seemed to sanction the opinions of both parties. On the clause, "that the repenting sinner is justified by a living and efficacious faith," he says, "Either Eccius must acknowledge (which he will never do,) that he and his friends have not before taught this doctrine, and then the article may stand for a time; or, he will boast (and this is what he certainly will do,) that they have always taught, from Galatians v., the doctrine of an efficacious or operative faith;—and then the article will become a new patch upon the old garment, by which the rent will be made worse:

they will glory in their victory, and in the *able* manner in which our party have supported their cause, especially when they maintain that there has been no departure from the confession—that this is all which it taught!" A. D. 1541.

There can be no doubt of the truth and correctness of the position here animadverted upon, "that the repenting sinner is justified by a living and efficacious faith," provided only that it be rightly interpreted: but Luther foresaw that it would be misinterpreted. Having got the mention of *repentance* and of *operative efficacy* introduced along with that of faith, in the matter of justification, the adversaries of the protestants would immediately proceed to ascribe to these virtues the office of justifying us, as much and in the same way as to faith itself.[1] Of such a procedure we have a notable instance in the bishop of Meaux, who has pursued the same method of softening down the objectionable doctrines of his own church, and representing those of the reformed body, where they are undeniably good, as borrowed from them, or virtually implied in them. Finding it declared in the Saxon confession, (as he might find it in all the confessions,) "that sin reigns not in him that is justified, but rather charity, or love, and therefore righteousness," he immediately concludes, that it would be

[1] This is expressly the doctrine of that "storehouse," from which too much modern divinity is drawn, Bishop Bull's Harmonia Apostolica. "Nothing more," he says, "is to be attributed to faith in this business than to other virtues." I. vi. Nay, in his Examen Censuræ, or Defence of his work, he affirms, that "in scripture our justification is more frequently ascribed to other virtues than to faith." Animad. ix. The reader will find many of Luther's remarks on this occasion directly meet the errors of the work referred to.

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better then at once to acknowledge, "that we are justified by the righteousness which is inherent in us;" and such justification, he contends, would still be "gratuitous," since this righteousness "proceeds from the gift of God!"[1] The reader who recals to mind Hooker's sentence concerning "hope and charity being joined as inseparable mates with faith in the man that is justified," but "faith the only hand which putteth on Christ to justification," or any of the corresponding passages in our Homilies, will need no further detection of all such sophistry.

On the expression, Galatians v. 6., "faith that worketh by love," (which the papists rendered "faith formed by love,"[2] meaning in effect that it owed its very character, and its power to justify, to the love by which it was accompanied,) Luther remarks, "It does not treat of justification, but of the life of the justified. It is one thing to be *made* righteous, and another to *act* as righteous; one thing to *be*, and another to *do*. Even schoolboys distinguish between *active* and *passive*. It is one question, How a man is justified before God, another, How a justified man acts. It is one thing for a tree to be produced, another for it to bring forth fruit."

[1] Bossuet, Hist. of Variat. 393 and 112.

[2] In this Bishop Bull thinks there is little or nothing objectionable: He evidently attributes all the efficacy of faith; and even its very "life," to the love and good fruits which are associated with it: and, remarking that the apostle, in his illustration, does not say, "As a *man* without a spirit is dead," but, "As a *body* without," &c. he affirms, "As a dead body is truly and properly a body, so a dead faith is truly and properly faith." II. ii. With this compare our Homily: "It is not now faith, as a dead man is not a man."

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Luther further pointed out, that, though it was conceded, that "our salvation is to be ascribed to the righteousness of Christ conferred upon us," yet this "availed little, unless it were also established, that the application of grace and the merits of Christ to us is only by faith: without this the opinion of the merit of works to procure it, and the other errors which the schoolmen had deduced from that, would never be excluded."

In the conclusion of his letter, he entreats the elector not to be severe upon Melancthon, for it would break his heart. The confession, he thought, might yet be regarded as secure, since the agreement on this article was not to take effect, unless it were extended to all the other points also—which would never be the case. In the mean time the effect of the conference would be good: it would weaken the papacy: the strength of Christ would be made perfect in the weakness of his servants. "Certainly," he says, "in *us* Christ has ever hitherto been weak; and yet by us he has humbled the mighty. He acts thus that we may not be proud, or boast, as if in things of so great and divine a nature we could accomplish any thing of ourselves."[1]

Discipline of the Protestants.

Before we take leave of the subjects discussed in this conference, we may observe, that a stricter discipline appears to have prevailed among the protestants, than either from their own complaints, or from the representations of their enemies, we should perhaps have expected. On the article of confession they urge, that, where sins were not open and notorious, confession was rather to be recommended

[1] Seck. iii. 356, 357.

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than enjoined; and that the people must ever be taught, that forgiveness was granted for the sake of Christ, and not because of their enumeration of their sins in confession. They wish their opponents could witness the state of things in their churches. "No one was admitted to the holy communion, till he had been examined and absolved by the pastor or deacon; and in that way numbers received instruction, and many sought advice in particular cases; and every Sunday there was a large attendance for these purposes. If any were immoral, they were excluded from communion; and, where the case required, the pastor admonished the magistrate of his duty respecting them. If any, after admonition, profanely refused to come to the sacrament, they were publicly censured, and considered as excommunicate." Seckendorf remarks, "These things deserve to be noted, in opposition to the difficulties which many, not only people but ministers, urge against examinations of this kind, though their necessity was thus publicly acknowledged in this diet by the divines deputed by so many princes and states."[1] In fact, that is here described of which our church laments,[2] and all wise and faithful pastors lament, the loss among ourselves.—And, alas! how much has even that consulting of their ministers, which is here spoken of, fallen into disuse even among the more religious part of their flocks. The intercourse between ministers and their people has become, too frequently, of that trite, general, and unprofitable kind, which is almost all that passes between the people themselves. They have little to learn, little to ask of us;

[1] Seck. iii. 358. [2] Commination Service.

and they want confidence and earnestness of mind to ask even that little: and we ourselves, alas! unduly taken up with literature, or with news, or with business, have too little to bring forth, "from the fulness of the heart," for the edification of those with whom we converse. And this is apt more especially to be the case where religion has become familiar, and the "fervour of spirit," with which it was at first both delivered and received, has gradually worn off.[1] May God, in his mercy, forbid that this growing "lukewarmness" should after all become the bane of religion in our highly favoured country, and particularly in those places which have enjoyed the most abundant religious advantages! May we remember, in a truly impressive and efficacious manner, that "many who are first shall be last!" May we "repent and do our first works," that our "candlestick" may never be "removed out of its place!"

A. D. 1541.

Conferences like those which were now carrying on, where such important interests were at stake, such nice distinctions to be made, and such opposite parties (if possible,) to be reconciled; where also every art would be employed to draw the protestants into unguarded concession, and then to take advantage of it; must obviously have been very distressing to those engaged in them, especially if they were men of refined minds, tender consciences, and truly pacific dispositions;—all which qualities eminently distinguished Melancthon.[2] He was scarcely the man that could be expected to stand sufficiently firm in the trying circumstances in

Situation and conduct of Melancthon.

[1] See important remarks upon this subject in the interesting Memoir of the Rev. Jos. Milner, prefixed to his Sermons.

[2] Pacis et tranquillitatis amantissimum Philippum curæ angebant die noctuque." Camerar. in Vit. Melanc. § 57.

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which he was now placed. Nor was he adequately supported either by his associates, or by *all* the leading patrons of his cause. Both the landgrave and the elector of Brandenburg[1] appear to have been disposed, at this period, to carry concession too far. Bucer was still more in danger, than Melancthon, of being betrayed into what might be denominated *trimming*, for the sake of peace: and accordingly his conduct gave great dissatisfaction to his friends.[2] Pistorius indeed, Melancthon's other colleague, is spoken of as a "pious, candid, and firm character:" but I find little concerning the part which he took in these discussions, except that he "concurred with Melancthon."[3] The latter amiable person, however, though at first censured by the elector for not adhering more closely to the confession, seems seldom to have conducted himself with greater constancy and spirit than at this time. The elector's representatives at Ratisbon commended him highly; and the elector was afterwards induced to express satisfaction at what he heard of his conduct.[4] He himself declared that he would rather die, than compromise the truth and wound his own conscience; and that, in fact, he should actually die of grief if he were to do so:[5] and accordingly we find the emperor offended at what he called Melancthon's *stiffness*, which he ascribed to the suggestions of Luther. This induced Melancthon to write to the emperor a pretty long letter, explaining the principles on which he felt bound to act, and begging, as the greatest favour he could receive, that he might

[1] Seck. iii. 354, 356, 361, 363. Melanc. Epist. iv. 236, 237 &c.

[2] Seck. iii. 356, 360 (3), 364.

[3] Ib. iii. 356 (2), 360 (3).

[4] Ib. 360 (2, 3), 363 (1).

[5] Ib. 356 (2).

be released from the task which had been imposed on him, and which he felt to be one of oppressive weight.[1] As is apt, however, to be the case with good men, ever alive to the sense of their own failings and imperfections, Melancthon could not satisfy himself: he confesses his weakness, and even supposes himself chastized for it by an accident which befel him, from the overturning of the carriage in which he travelled to Ratisbon. His wrist appears to have been dislocated, and other injury sustained, so that he never perfectly recovered the use of his right hand. On this the good man says, "I am chastened of God, and justly suffer, as for my other faults, so particularly for my undue facility, in suffering myself to be employed in vain and foolish schemes, contrary to the advice of so many wise men."[2]—He could not, however, help feeling the difference between the spirit which actuated himself and such persons as he approved, and that which characterized his opponent Eccius. He speaks with grief of him and others as evidently not seeking the truth, nor desiring to serve the church, but only to gain the praise of being subtle disputants upon the most solemn subjects. "I have heard him," he says, "vain gloriously boasting that he could maintain either side of the question.... I do not think any good man can be so mild and gentle, as to listen unmoved to his sophisms and juggling tricks. He sports with terms of the most serious import, continually

A. D. 1541.

[1] Mel. Epist. ii. 1.

[2] Ib. iv. 235. Camerar. Vit. Mel. § 194. His opinion of these attempts for conciliation, and his feelings concerning them, are strongly marked in many of his letters. "Conciliationes fucosæ"—"fallaces, plenæ turpitudinis et periculi;" &c.

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conceals his real meaning, and only aims to embarrass an adversary. There is great danger in encountering sycophants of this kind." [1]

Reference to Luther.

When all hopes of accommodation were well nigh extinguished, the elector of Brandenburg and his brother the marquis George proposed, and it was not doubted with the privity of the emperor, that a deputation should be sent to Luther, to solicit him, if possible, to point out some way in which they might come to terms of agreement. This, it must be acknowledged, was paying no small honour to the Saxon monk; nor could it be construed otherwise than as placing, after all that he had said and done, and all that had been said and done concerning him, much confidence in his wisdom and upright intentions, as well as acknowledging the great influence which he possessed. Accordingly John prince of Anhalt, with one of the elector of Brandenburg's counsellors, and Ales, a Scotch divine employed by that prince, undertook the embassy. George prince of Anhalt, and superintendant of Magdeburg, a highly valued friend of Luther's, (of whom we shall ere long speak more fully,) joined them; and the elector of Saxony, though not at all satisfied with the measure adopted, came from Torgau to Wittemberg to receive them. They represented the emperor's earnest wish for peace and union, and urged how extremely desirable it was that conciliation should be effected: that the article of justification and some other important points had already been accommodated; and that Luther himself had said, that, if the true doctrine on that head were established and taught, and the sacrament allowed according to

[1] Melanc. Op. iv. 641. Seck. iii. 298.

Christ's institution, other things might be borne with, and would be gradually corrected: that the emperor could not at once reform all abuses, men's minds not being yet prepared for it; and that the weak ought to meet with forbearance: that the Venetians, to name no others, were waiting the event of the present diet, and, if it proved satisfactory, an extensive dissemination of the true doctrine concerning a sinner's acceptance with God, and of reformation in general might be expected; but that, if the prospect of concord were at an end, the greatest dangers were to be apprehended not only from the Romanists, but from the Turks also, who could not be effectually resisted but by an union of all the states against them. A.D. 1541.

Luther commended the emperor's desire of peace, and declared that his own most sincere wishes and prayers were directed to that object; that he was glad to understand that four articles had been accorded, but that he had not seen any of the formularies agreed upon, except that on justification; that nothing, however, could be hoped for unless their adversaries would act sincerely, and submit themselves to God and the truth of his word; but he feared that, on the contrary, they imposed upon the emperor; for that, if the four articles were cordially admitted, the other ten, which were in dispute, could not be rejected. He censured their article on justification, in which, he said, they had mixed up free will and the words of S. Paul, in Galatians v., upon another subject, inferring from them, that charity was required in order to justification. He saw no sufficient ground for forbearance, since neither the rulers nor the clergy were "weak brethren," but rather fierce and bitter persecutors. If indeed His reply.

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the public and universal proclamation of the doctrines agreed upon were enjoined, then the really weak would become strong, and great progress would be made: but without this they would only be confirmed in their errors. This therefore he earnestly recommended; urging that, if it were refused, the insincerity of their adversaries, who had professedly assented to these doctrines would be manifest, and that terms could not then be made with them. He concluded, however, with observing, that, as the conference had been held on this condition, that all their conclusions should be submitted to the decision of the diet, he could do nothing to interfere with that arrangement."

Seckendorf applauds both the prudence, temper, and constancy of Luther on this occasion, and thinks the latter quality scarcely less advantageously displayed, in nowwithstanding the flattering solicitations of his friends, than it had formerly been, at Worms and Augsburg, in disregarding the threats of his enemies. His advice concerning the promulgation of the doctrines agreed upon by them, the same historian says, was approved by the emperor, and many of the princes and cities, and even (as Pallavicini himself testifies,) by the states of the catholic persuasion; and nothing prevented its being acted upon but the papal artifices, and the preponderance of the episcopal votes in the diet.[1]

To the elector, Luther soon after wrote his sentiments more unreservedly. "He never expected any thing," he said, "from such conferences: Christ and the serpent could never agree: but he was willing that the evangelical

[1] Seck. iii. 361—363.

doctrine should be thoroughly sifted, and, through discussion, should be more widely made known—as had been the case at Augsburg. But, if the emperor, or those who made use of his name, seriously proposed concord in religion, let them first seek to be reconciled to God; and, in order to this, confess their past errors; that the papacy had within the last six hundred years ruined unnumbered souls, and the emperor within twenty years destroyed by water, and fire, and sword very many truly pious men. God," he says, "is the supreme judge, and, though *we* should make peace with them, He will not hold his peace; the blood of Abel will not be silent, and it will condemn us if we are so." [1] A. D. 1541.

The difficulty of conducting conferences of this kind to the satisfaction of either party may be judged of by this circumstance, that, while Melancthon and Bucer were censured by their friends for conceding so much, the legate Contarini, a man of talents and reputation, notwithstanding that he prevailed, in the end, to have the whole matter referred to the pope or a council, [2] was yet charged by cardinal Caraffa, (afterwards pope Paul IV,) with having betrayed the cause of the church, especially on the question of justification. [3] Cardinal Contarini.

[1] Seck. iii. 364.

[2] Sleid. 279. Seck. iii. 365. Dr. Robertson's statement, that the recess of the diet enjoined that the articles agreed upon by the divines "should be observed inviolably by all," seems not to be correct. This was rather what Luther urged: but what was ultimately decreed seems to have been, that, though these articles were not to be considered as finally settled, the protestants should *not go beyond them*—an injunction, however, which was rendered nugatory by the first sentence of the emperor's declaration, allowing them to be interpreted according to the sentiments of the protestants themselves. Seck. iii. 366.

[3] Maimb. in Seck. iii. 349.

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The Elector of Saxony.

The firmness and zeal of the elector of Saxony, throughout the whole of these proceedings, were most conspicuous. "No one," said he, "would more gladly see peace established in Germany than I should do, but I would not for the sake of it yield any thing contrary to the will of God and the dictates of my own conscience; and he, I trust, will keep me free from all such sin. Peace established on those terms would be a judgment from God, and would prove the occasion of irreconcileable discord." He reprobated the counsels of those who "put religion and outward peace on the same footing, whereas, when the two came in competition, the latter ought always to give way to the former." He looked with great jealousy upon a sort of middle party which he thought had risen up among the protestants, and in which he reckoned the elector of Brandenburg: and he feared much more, he said, the caresses of Ratisbon than the severity of Augsburg. He would have his representatives, therefore, adhere "to the very terms, as well as to the sense of the confession, and reject all ambiguous language which might be twisted to opposite meanings." He declares that, "even if Luther himself should give way, which he trusted would never be the case, it should not be with his concurrence."[1]—All this will be condemned as bigotry by the lukewarm and latitudinarian: but the better informed Christian will pronounce it a "zeal according to knowledge"—the result of a deep acquaintance with the word of God, and an accurate observation of the history of the church.

Bigamy of the Landgrave of Hessè.

The truth of history requires us here to record a different and painful account of another

[1] Seck. iii. 356 (1, 3), 360 (6), 361 (10), 363 (1).

leading patron of the reformation! The reader will have traced, both in this volume, and in those of Dr. Milner, the zealous support given to the sacred cause, even from an early period, by Philip landgrave of Hesse: yet it has been already intimated that his conduct in private life was not consistent with his religious professions. By his own confession it appears, that he had long indulged in licentious habits, though against the most alarming remonstrances of his own conscience; and a short time before the commencement of these conferences he had persuaded himself, that the only remedy to be found for his incontinence was in marrying another wife, in addition to the daughter of the late duke George, to whom he had been for many years united, and who had brought him a pretty numerous family of children. Having contrived most sophistically to satisfy himself that the scriptures allowed him this indulgence, he resolved upon it, and sought to obtain the sanction of Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, confidentially communicating to the two former, through the medium of the latter, the most secret grounds of his proceeding. This was a step exceedingly to be deprecated, as it tended to involve the most venerable reformers, and even the reformation itself, in all the scandal of the landgrave's conduct: and accordingly it has been made the occasion of virulent invective against both protestants and protestantism at large, and by no one in a more unmeasured manner than by the celebrated Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. A. D. 1540.

It is by no means necessary, however, to the defence of the reformation, that we should either apologize for the landgrave, or assert the unerring wisdom of Luther himself; than whom no

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man ever more sincerely disavowed all pretensions to infallibility. I shall not enter particularly into so painful a subject; but, after a careful examination of the documents furnished by Bossuet, I am bold to affirm, that they by no means warrant the charges and insinuations which he has founded upon them. On the contrary, they are in many respects highly honourable to the protestant divines. The landgrave's own confessions shew the holy nature of the instructions which he had received; for he acknowledges that for many years he had not dared to approach the holy communion, and had lived under the awful conviction, that, even if he should die fighting for the gospel, he had no prospect but that of eternal damnation before him.—Would no means, short of an utter renunciation of the indulged sin, have been found in the church of Rome for relieving the mind of a sovereign prince, a devoted "son of the church," from such terrors of conscience as these?—Further, in their answer to the landgrave, the divines seriously and faithfully charge his crimes home upon his conscience, and warn him of their consequences: they utterly reject his conclusions in favour of polygamy generally: and the advice which they give seems fairly to admit of no harsher construction than this, that, since the landgrave professes to have made up his mind, and will hear of no other alternative between his present course of life and a second marriage, less scandal will be given, and perhaps less guilt incurred, by the latter than the former.[1] At the same time they recommend

[1] The strongest expression (according to the Latin version furnished by Bossuet of the German papers,) is, "*Sic et in tantum* hoc approbamus;" that is, with all the suppositions and limitations which he had stated, or they had urged. And

that, if he carries his resolution into effect, the marriage should be kept secret, since reputed concubinage would be less reproachful and less mischievous than avowed bigamy. A. D. 1540.

Now, though it is to be regretted that *any* advice was given in such a case,[1] when the consulting party declared his mind to be already made up, what was there deserving, at least, such *severe* censure, in this answer of the protestant divines? Must not the malignant exultation of a Christian bishop, over the infamy with which he pretends that the whole party is

this is connected with the following admonition: "Habet itaque Celsitudo Vestra non tantum omnium nostrum testimonium in casu necessitatis, sed etiam antecedentes nostras considerationes, *quas rogamus ut Vestra Celsitudo....velit ponderare.*"

Among the base motives by which Bossuet insinuates that the reformers were influenced on this occasion, one is, the bribe which he pretends was held out to them in the following sentence: "I will do whatsoever they *in reason* shall ASK OF ME, whether they DEMAND the revenues of monasteries, or other things *of the like nature.*" Let the reader judge whether this is a fair translation of the bishop's own document: "Quicquid me *jusserint* quod *Christianum et rectum sit*, sive monasteriorum bona, seu alia *concernat*, ibi me promptum reperient." ("They shall find me ready to comply with their *directions* in any thing that is *Christian and right*, whether relating to the goods of the monasteries, or to any other subject.") The fact is, there was a disposition on the part of some protestants at that time, and the landgrave seemed inclined to concur with them, to give up the monastic revenues in such a manner as was likely to favour the restoration of popery: (Seck. iii. 354 (9).) and there seems every reason to suppose that this was the point to which the landgrave here referred. Neither Luther, Melancthon, nor Bucer lived within the landgrave's territories, or was likely therefore to be personally affected by his disposal of these funds: and base and unjust indeed must the mind of that man be, who can suppose these reformers to have been influenced by regard to private pecuniary interest.

[1] This was the elector of Saxony's sentiment, when the affair came to his knowledge. Seck. iii. 278 (g).

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covered by this transaction, appear infinitely more offensive in the eyes of all good men, and may we not presume also in the eyes of Him who sees all things with unerring rectitude, than any thing presented by the conduct of Bucer, Melancthon, or Luther, on this occasion?[1]

The landgrave actually carried his purpose into effect, on the third of March 1540, and that with the consent of the landgravine, his lawful wife, in her own hand-writing and attested by her name and seal! With regard to him, we must leave the whole of his case to his Judge. Gladly shall we discover any evidence, that his calamities, and the long-continued and very harassing captivity, which he a few years afterwards suffered, proved the means of leading him to repentance, and furnished evidence that he was "chastened of the Lord, that he might not be condemned with the world."

With respect to others, so far was it from being true, that "all the most renowned persons connected with the reformation in Germany concurred in this iniquity,"[2] that, when it came to be known, it produced the deepest

[1] Hist. des Variat.—Seck. iii. 277—281. Melanc. Epist. ii. 336. Lutheri Epist. Strobel. 180, 181.—Melancthon desires a friend to advise those who discussed this subject, "Ne judicent re non integrè cognitâ:" and Luther pronounces, "Ego, quæ landgravius sub arcano confessionis per Bucerum mihi exposuit, secretissima tenebo, etiam cum ignominiâ meâ. Præstat spargi Lutherum indulgentiâ suâ desipuisse, quam ut rationes evulgem propter quas landgravio indulsimus."—Melancthon further says, that he only discovered the real sources of the business "sero post factum;" (Pezel. i. 394.) and in another epistle he speaks disadvantageously of the landgrave's state of mind and usual methods of proceeding. Ep. ii. 336.

[2] Bossuet.

and most painful sensation, and strong protestations on the part of the elector and the duke of Saxony, the elector of Brandenburg, and various others, both laymen and ecclesiastics. The tender and conscientious Melancthon, in particular, was so deeply affected with the whole affair, that his distress of mind brought on an illness which fully threatened to prove fatal to him.—With this illness some interesting and important occurrences are connected. Melancthon was seized with it at Weimar, on his way to the appointed conference at Haguenau. When Luther, at the elector's express desire, visited his suffering friend, he found him apparently at the point of death: "his sight was obscured, his understanding nearly gone, he had lost his hearing and his speech, he recognized no one, and took no sustenance." Luther, filled with consternation and grief exclaimed, "Gracious God! how hath Satan prevailed to derange and disfigure this noble instrument of thine!" Then, turning to the window, (as his custom was,) he stood and prayed for him with great earnestness: and afterwards, taking him by the hand, affectionately addressed him: "My dear Philip, be of good cheer, you shall not die! Though God can never want sufficient occasion against us, yet he willeth not the death of a sinner: he hath pleasure in his life, not in his death. He hath pardoned the greatest of sinners: never assuredly will he cast you from his presence, or suffer you to die overwhelmed with sin and grief. Give not way to your sadness, nor become your own destroyer; but trust in God, who is able to kill and to make alive!"—While Luther thus addressed him, Melancthon began a little to revive. Henceforward he gradually

A. D. 1540.

Illness of Melancthon.

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improved in health, and was eventually restored.[1] —"I should have died," he himself afterwards said, "but for Luther's visit to me."[2]

His Will.

A short time previous to this illness, Melancthon, under symptoms of its coming on, and with a sort of presentiment of death,[3] composed a will, which furnishes important explanations of his conduct, and may serve to repel many charges brought against both him and Luther; as if the latter exercised an "insupportable tyranny" over his friends, and the former so pusillanimously submitted, as never to dare honestly "to speak his full sentiments concerning doctrine."[4] We have seen, I trust, enough to expose the incorrectness of these representations; and the writing, which we are about to notice, would ill accord with such a state of things.

In this private and solemn document, which is made "in the name of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," Melancthon observes, that it appears that testaments were first designed to record the religious sentiments which the testators themselves embraced, and desired in the most solemn manner to transmit to those who came after them. Such was his special design in composing his present will: he wished to charge it upon his children steadfastly to adhere to the confession of his faith which he

[1] Seck. iii. 313, 314. Camerar. Vit. Mel. p. 185.

[2] Mel. Epist. ii. 336. "Cum essem horribili morbo oppressus, qui tantum ex animi dolore ortus erat, quem aliena mihi causa attulerat."—Again: "Nullâ oratione explicare possum, quam horribiles dolores sustinuerim, qui interdum recrudescunt. Sensi et Doctorem Lutherum excruciari animo, sed ille suum dolorem repressit, ne meum augeret. Meque erigere conatus est summâ animi magnitudine, non solum consolando, sed sæpe duriter objurgando." Pezel. i. 394.

[3] Pezel. Concil. Melanc. i. 393. [4] Bossuet.

should here make. He first returns devout thanks to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he had called him to repentance and the faith of the gospel; and implores that, through the sacrifice of the death of Christ, God would pardon all his sins, accept and justify him, and deliver him from eternal death. And this he believes that he will do; for God has enjoined us to believe it; and it would be an act of impiety to think our own sins of more potency than the death of Christ. The death of the Son of God, therefore, he presented as his defence and support against the distress of mind occasioned either by his own sins, or the scandals given by others: and he beseeches the Almighty, by his Holy Spirit, to confirm and strengthen this his faith.—He next declares his cordial reception of the Apostles' and the Nicene creed, and that he thinks concerning the whole Christian doctrine as he had written in his Common Places, and his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, of the last edition; in which he had endeavoured to explain his real sentiments, without any ambiguity. Concerning the eucharist, he adhered to the form of concord agreed upon at Wittemberg. He united himself with the protestant churches; which he believed to profess the doctrine of the universal church of Christ, and to be true churches; and he enjoined his children to continue in the same communion, and to avoid connexion with the papists, who on many points taught a very corrupt doctrine; were altogether without the true doctrine of justification by faith, and of the remission of sins; made no proper discrimination between the law and the gospel; held heathenish and pharisaical notions concerning prayer to God; and were guilty of manifest

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idolatry in their masses, and prayers to the dead.—He then warns his children against all errors respecting the person of Christ, and subjects connected with that, contrary to the received creeds; and against all hollow and insincere methods of reconciling the doctrines in dispute, by which old errors would be covertly introduced again, and the truth corrupted. Learned men, he says, were to be warned against admitting, under the pretext of peace and public tranquillity, a confused mixture of doctrines. And here he proceeds, "I can truly affirm that I have endeavoured soundly to explain the doctrine of our churches, that it might be rightly understood by younger students, and handed down to posterity. I know, indeed, that it has at times been suspected, that I attempted some things in favour of our adversaries: but I call God to witness that I had no wish to favour such persons, but aimed only at a correct exposition, excluding all ambiguities —though many are aware how difficult I found it to attain this. The Confession of Augsburg, it appears, is *not sufficiently explicit:* with a good design, therefore, I adopted the course pursued in my work on Romans; for I wish to leave no ambiguities; since what is not clear and decisive only produces further disputes.—Nor was it my design to introduce any new dogma, but perspicuously and correctly to explain the catholic doctrine as delivered in our churches, which I judge to have been brought to light in these late years, by the singular goodness of God, through the instrumentality of Dr. Martin Luther,—that thus the church might be purified and restored, which must otherwise have utterly perished. Let us therefore preserve this light as long as possible: and

I pray God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to assist the studies and endeavours of pious men, and to preserve his church; and may he, in particular, bless our churches, which have sustained long and severe conflicts for the gospel's sake." A. D. 1540.

He concludes with the expression of his thanks to all his principal friends and associates, and prayers for them. It may suffice to specify the notice here taken of Luther. "I return my thanks to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther, first because from him I received the knowledge of the gospel, and next because of his singular kindness shewn to me on a thousand occasions; and I desire my family to regard him as a father. Having found him to be endowed with a distinguished and heroic genius, with many great virtues, and with eminent piety and learning, I have always honoured and loved him, and thought his friendship worthy of the most assiduous cultivation." "Such friendships as I here record," he beautifully adds, "I am persuaded are not to be extinguished by death, but will soon be renewed in heaven, where they will be enjoyed to much greater advantage, and yield unspeakably higher delight." [1]

The records of such a paper deserve our most implicit confidence, and no one can doubt that he here reads the deliberate and undisguised sentiments of Melancthon's heart. It may be appealed to as explanatory of what may any where else occur, that might be thought to bear a less unequivocal appearance.

[1] Pezelii Consil. Melanc. i. 389, &c. Seck. iii. 279.

CHAPTER VI.

MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS BELONGING TO THE PERIOD OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

Progress of the Reformation.

IMPORTANT instances have recently occurred of the progress of the reformation; others present themselves to our notice. Eccius and Cochlæus, in their correspondence with cardinal Contarini, bear striking testimony to the extensive and firm establishment which the new system had obtained in Germany. The former dolefully complains, "That all homage was withdrawn from the saints; that the miserable souls in purgatory had no longer any prayers offered for them; that the sacred rites of the mass were discontinued; that images were insulted and broken; that the treasures of the church were alienated, the pope and the priesthood held in contempt, and Rome taken for the Babylonish harlot; that celibacy was at an end, and monastic vows were violated. He reproaches the blindness and inertness of those who had not extinguished the conflagration while it was a mere spark—which was the case when he disputed with Carolstadt and Luther at Leipsic. Even the German prelates, he says, now laughed at the wide-spread mischief, and secretly hoped to be delivered by its means from the exactions and impositions which they had suffered from the court of Rome."—Cochlæus, writing from Wladislaw on the Vistula, about the same time, says: "Our prelates in

Testimony of Eccius; March 1540.

and of Cochlæus;

Germany, whether through cowardice or despair, sit still, and suffer every where the curtailment of their revenues. The Lutherans, on the contrary, spare neither care, nor labour, nor expence, but devise every means of establishing their sect. They ordain superintendants, a new species of bishops, to whom they give the power of ordaining priests and deacons in their respective districts. They diligently train their youth in the schools in devotion to their own doctrine, and in abhorrence of the papists; and, that they may acquire confidence in preaching to the people, they exercise them in declamations taken from the postils [1] of Luther. They assign handsome incomes, drawn from the abolition of the private masses, to their ministers, and to the masters of their schools. This is done here, at Magdeburg, at Hamburg, and throughout almost all Germany where this heresy prevails; so that it will be extremely difficult to eradicate from the minds of men the pestilent evil which has been implanted at school, and cherished in public assemblies, and by the reading of books at home. To God, however, all things are possible!" [2] A. D. 1540.

The discerning reader will receive these accounts with great satisfaction, perceiving nothing in them but what bears honourable testimony to the diligence, the piety, and the discretion of the protestants.

The reformation of Magdeburg and Halberstadt with the connivance of the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg has been before noticed.[3] The proceedings at Halle in the dutchy of Magdeburg are more particularly recorded. Super- Reformation of Halle:

[1] Expositions of the gospels and epistles.

[2] Seck. iii. 271. from Raynaldus, a bigoted continuator of Baronius. Compare iii. 207.

[3] Above, p. 257.

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stition had been carried even beyond the ordinary bounds at that place, and the accumulation of pretended relics was immense. The writer of an account of Halle states, that there were collected in the churches forty-two entire bodies of saints, and portions, as it would seem, of others to the amount of eight thousand one hundred and thirty-three: and an official account, published in the year 1520 under the auspices of the archbishop, presents the delineations of more than two hundred costly vases in which the precious relics of Halle were preserved. It would be time ill-bestowed to attempt any enumeration of them: a few specimens only shall be mentioned. Such were a portion of the earth out of which Adam was created; fragments of Noah's ark, of the bodies of the patriarchs and prophets, and of the Virgin Mary's clothing at the time of the miraculous conception; the body of one of the infants slain by Herod, and those of seventeen out of the eleven thousand virgins, whom the ignorance of the times, mistaking the name Undecimilla for *undecim millia*, had constituted the companions of S. Ursula. Once in the year a public exhibition was made of all these relics, and to those who then "devoutly contemplated them, offering at the same time prayers to God, and giving money to the collegiate church," indulgences were granted extending to a greater number of thousands and millions "of years and of days" than I find it easy to compute.[1] The very indefinite and

[1] "Annorum tricesies novies millenorum millium, ducentorum quadraginta quinque millium, centum et viginti; dierumque ducentorum et viginti, et præterea quadragenarum sexies millies et quingenties millenarum, et insuper quadraginta millium."

nullifying clause, however, was added, that those persons should have the benefit of these indulgences "who were found worthy to enjoy it!"[1] Such were the objects proposed to the wondering veneration and even adoration of the good people of Halle, and of those who might be attracted by the fame of its sacred rites to visit their city. It may be supposed, however, that at length incredibility created disgust, and that the extravagant lengths to which imposture had been carried quickened the desire of a change. As early as the year 1523, the head of a monastery, named Nicholas Demuth, encouraged the introduction of evangelical truth; and in 1527 George Winckler boldly preached it, though he paid the forfeit of his life for so doing.[2] The inhabitants subsequently importuned the archbishop, with increasing earnestness, and even "on their knees," to allow them the liberty of hearing the word of God; but without success. At length, in 1541, they took the liberty of themselves inviting Justus Jonas from Wittemberg; who was permitted to go to them, and become their superintendant; which office he filled till the year 1546, when the events connected with the Smalkaldic war obliged him to quit the place, and remove into the dutchy of Coburg. The labours of Jonas appear to have been successful, and the protestant faith was permanently established at Halle.[3] A. D. 1541.

About the same time the reformation was publicly established in the cities of Ratisbon and Hildesheim. In both places opposition was made by the bishop and clergy, but they were of Ratisbon and Hildesheim:

[1] "Qui idonei forent ad merendum."
[2] Seck. ii. 83. [3] Ib. iii. 372—374.

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unable to withstand the tide of public opinion. In the former city the doctrines of Luther had been early taught by some Augustinian monks, and also by the prior of the Dominicans, whose name has not been preserved. In the year 1538 the cause had been materially assisted by the introduction of a schoolmaster, Caspar Navius, from Wittemberg, and by the youth of the best families being, in consequence, sent to the university of that place; whence they returned strongly impressed in favour of the reformation. Among these, Wolfgang Haller, who was "secretary to three emperors," is particularly mentioned.[1]—At Hildesheim, Bugenhagius was invited to make the requisite ecclesiastical regulations; and he found there very full employment. He mentions an agreeable disappointment which occurred to him the first time he preached in public. He gave out a Lutheran hymn, apprehending however that he should himself be the sole singer of it: but, to his great surprise, nearly the whole congregation joined him. This is justly noticed as a proof of the acceptableness and the effect of the hymns, at that period composed for the German people in their vernacular language.[2]

of the Palatinate of Bavaria.

But the palatinate of Bavaria was a still more important accession to the protestant cause. It was at this time under the government of Otto Henry, a younger member of the Bavarian family; who, however, two years afterwards succeeded to the station of elector palatine,—who takes his title from the other palatinate, that of the Rhine. This prince had for some years favoured the protestant principles, but he seems to have waited for that

[1] Seck. iii. 396. [2] Ibid. 397, 398.

more general reformation of the church, which he and many others had hoped might be effected by a council. Seeing, however, less and less prospect of so desirable an event, he now avowed himself, and, with the advice of his chaplain Michael Diller, formerly an Augustinian monk, and of Osiander from Nuremberg, introduced the reformation throughout his territories. In his public edict for this purpose he adverts to the calamities of the times, the effect of the divine displeasure against the sins of the people; and to the duty of a Christian prince to promote reformation of manners among his subjects. "This was to be effected by their being admonished of their sins and the consequences of them, from the word of God, and by Christ being clearly set forth to them as the only Saviour, without any unscriptural admixtures and additions." He laments the erroneous doctrines which had prevailed, and that the preachers in his territory "had rather taught old customs and foolish fables than the word of God, aiming more at the aggrandizement of their order, than at the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Hence vice and wickedness could not but be produced: the ignorant were neglected, the timid confounded, and wise men disgusted." He enjoins, therefore, that nothing should be taught by the clergy which had not its foundation in the word of God, and was not agreeable to the usages of the primitive apostolic church. He commends to them the diligent study of the New Testament, especially; and that from that source the way of salvation should be pointed out to the people, their sins reproved, and amendment of life enforced; and that the ministers should aim to be themselves examples of what they taught to others.—The next year

A. D. 1541.

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he published an ecclesiastical constitution for his dominions; and, having by these proceedings considerably irritated his kinsmen and neighbours, the dukes of Bavaria, he was glad to avail himself of the security of entering into the protestant league.[1]

Bishopric of Naumburg.

Events at this time occurred also in the bishopric of Naumburg, in Thuringia, which tended to confirm and perfect the reformation in that diocese. So far back as the year 1520 one of the clergy, D. Pfenningius, preached evangelical doctrines there, but was imprisoned for life. During the rustic war the chapter allowed John Langer, afterwards pastor of Coburg, to be invited to the place; but five years

1529.

afterwards, in consequence of the decree of the second diet of Spires, he was expelled. The people petitioned the superior of the cathedral, who was the patron of the parish church at Naumburg, to appoint a person who would preach to them the reformed doctrine; but he refused, and the church was in consequence deserted. In 1532, John Cramer began to preach to them the doctrines which they desired to hear, but he was obliged to flee from the city; and the people frequented country churches, particularly that of S. Maurice, which was almost in the suburbs, and the minister of which was nominated by the elector of Saxony. The progress of the reformation was not to be stopped by opposition; and in 1537 we find Nicholas à Medler become pastor and superintendant, and drawing up a form of worship approved by Luther and Melancthon. In 1541 he gained access into the cathedral, and preached there, though the canons and vicars continued the popish

[1] Seck. iii. 396, 397.

ceremonies. The same year the bishop died, and the chapter proceeded hastily to elect Julius Pflug for his successor. The elector of Saxony insisting that his concurrence was necessary, and that the proceeding was in violation of his rights, refused to admit Pflug, and, after some deliberation, nominated Amsdorf, a friend of Luther's, before mentioned in this history. Amsdorf was of a family of rank, and had now been for eighteen years superintendant of Magdeburg, where so much mutual attachment subsisted between him and the people, that he was well content to remain with them, and they, on their part, offered every opposition which they with propriety could do to his removal. The elector, however, alleging the more extended interests of religion, which he hoped would thus be promoted, persisted in his nomination, and himself, with many other leading persons, attended his inauguration; on which occasion Luther preached, and took the principal part in the ceremony. A. D. 1541.

The elector's proceedings in the exclusion of Pflug, and the installation of Amsdorf, have been much censured, though Luther wrote in defence of the measure.[1] There seems no doubt

[1] Sleid. 288. Seck. iii. 409—411.—Luther's taking upon him, in conjunction with other presbyters, to consecrate bishops, which he did on more occasions than one, would naturally be made the subject of much animadversion. I can offer no better apology for him than that made by bishop Atterbury, in his "Answer to some considerations on the spirit of M. Luther, and the original of the reformation, [written by Obadiah Walker, master of University College, and] printed at Oxford, 1687:"—"That he made new bishops we admit; not out of choice, but necessity; following, as he thought, in this case the practice of the church, mentioned in that well-known passage of S. Austin's—*In Alexandria, et per totam Ægyptum, si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter:* but that he put these bishops in the places of the deceased,

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that it proved highly irritating to the emperor, who interested himself much on behalf of Pflug, and, when he was excluded, told him to bear it patiently for a time, and he should find that he made *his* cause his own.[1] Accordingly Pflug was in 1546 put in possession by Maurice, who then commanded the emperor's army, and he retained the bishopric till his death in 1564, administering it with great moderation, and a near approach to protestant principles; while Amsdorf returned to Magdeburg, and subsequently retired to Isenach.

Indeed the elector in this instance was disposed to outstrip the zeal of his divines. He proposed to appoint a bishop deprived of all the civil authority which his predecessors had exercised, and to suppress the canons and cathedral clergy altogether. Luther and others, however, dissuaded him from such measures, pointing out several things of an external nature which were best administered where such officers existed; and also the inconveniences which had arisen from destroying the connexion of superior families with the church, and thus removing the stimulus afforded to the cultivation of learning among persons of rank.—Prince George of Anhalt was the person whom Luther and his friends would have recommended for the bishopric, in preference to one of less distinguished rank, wishing, as they said, the elector to avail himself of this opportunity of exhibiting a bishop unexceptionably chosen, and a diocese administered in the most exemplary manner.—Even their severest censurers

by his own authority, is notoriously false; for the duke of Saxony always presented." p. 59.

[1] Melch. Ad. in Amsdorf.

must surely here admit their moderation, disinterestedness, and discretion.[1] A. D. 1541.

Denmark and Sweden.

The protestants at this period had much confidence in the king of Denmark; but some distrust, it appears, had grown up among them of the king of Sweden. The same illustrious prince, Gustavus Vasa, who had in so vigorous and decisive a manner introduced the reformation into Sweden nearly twenty years before,[2] still reigned over that country; and Luther on this occasion undertook to write to him, exhorting him to constancy in the true doctrine, and to good understanding with the elector of Saxony and the other protestant confederates. Gustavus replied to Luther in terms of respect and affection. The fact, he said, had been, that his advances had met with apparent neglect, and he thought it not therefore becoming his dignity to repeat them. It would be very acceptable to him, however, if through Luther's means any arrangement could be made between him and the confederate princes, conducive to the honour of God, the maintenance of divine truth in his dominions, and the best interests of his family and successors.—In consequence 1542.
a correspondence was opened, in the course of which Gustavus wrote to the elector and the landgrave, in the pious strain of which the following extract furnishes a specimen. "Nothing," he says, "could be more to his heart's desire, than that, through the divine illumination, and the influence of the Holy Spirit, the preaching of the pure and saving word of God should become universal, and be crowned with the greatest success: that he himself, as a Christian prince, and a member of the catholic church of

[1] Seck. iii. 386—395, 409, 410. Sleid. 288.
[2] Milner v. 133—142. (710—720.)

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Christ, had taken earnest care to promote this object in his kingdom; and he doubted not but God would protect his work against all adversaries: as, however, both force and fraud were to be apprehended, he conceived it to be just, pious, and Christian to enter into alliance for the defence of their religion; and therefore, at the instance of his brother and neighbour Christiern king of Denmark, he professed himself ready to treat with the German princes upon that subject."—It is gratifying indeed to trace such marks of ingenuous piety and zeal for religion, in a man on other grounds distinguished among the most celebrated heroes.—The result was his association in the protestant league.[1]

Attempted reformation of Metz,

In other places reformation was desired and attempted, but without success, or even with a calamitous issue. The latter was particularly the case at Metz, at that time a free imperial city, though since united to France. Numbers of the citizens, and not a few of the senate, were attached to evangelical doctrine, as now preached to them by William Farell, a Frenchman; and considerable hopes were entertained that protestantism might here obtain an establishment, and thence spread into Lorrain and the neighbouring parts of France. The reformed party applied to the protestant league to be taken under their protection: but the elector doubted how far it would consist with their engagements to the emperor, to accede to this request; and Luther and Melancthon gave it as their opinion that it was in itself unwarrantable, to undertake the support of a minority, who could be considered but as private

[1] Seck. iii. 371, 372, 418. Gerdes. iii. 325—327.

individuals, against the governing powers of their own state. They had great apprehensions also that it might, in this case, prove as inexpedient, as it would be improper.—Here again we have an instance of the strictly correct limits within which, as formerly explained,[1] the protestants confined their justification of resistance in the defence of their religion.—They interposed, however, their good offices in behalf of their brethren at Metz, by an embassy to the senate, through which they particularly urged, that one parish church in the city should be granted for the use of the friends of reformation: and this the senate promised. But the whole business was shortly after terminated by a transaction of the most disgraceful nature. The bishop of Metz, cardinal of Lorrain, violently opposed all reformation, and restrained all public preaching in the city. In consequence, the citizens in great numbers went out to hear preachers in country places, where they were supported by the more opulent friends of the reformation. On Easter Sunday 1543, about two hundred persons, men and women, had thus resorted to Gorsa, a castle belonging to count Furstenberg, to hear Farell and receive the sacrament from his hands. While they were afterwards at dinner, a son of the duke of Guise, who was related to the bishop of Metz, and commanded a troop of horse in the neighbourhood, fell upon them with his soldiers, massacred many of them, drove others into the Moselle, and treated the women with the most brutal barbarity. The protestant princes remonstrated with their professed friend the king of France upon this atrocious proceeding; but

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[1] Above pp. 102—109.

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obtained nothing in reply beyond courteous words, and a disavowal of the step taken by Guise, with an attempt to give another colour to the transaction. The emperor also connived at it; and no redress was obtained.—Soon after the senate of Metz, with Charles's concurrence, utterly prohibited the reformed doctrine, drove many into exile who professed it, and required all books which taught it, particularly books of psalms and hymns, to be delivered up under pain of heavy penalties.[1] Such were the worthy measures whereby the kingdom of darkness and sin was supported, by a party which spares no invective, no misrepresentation against the peaceable protestants, when any thing occurs on their side which can be distorted into an appearance of hardship or persecution.

of Austria,

We have before seen that a very considerable feeling in favour of reformation existed in Austria.[2] It manifested itself at the present time in a very remarkable public document. "The nobles of Austria" took occasion from the late calamities suffered from the Turks, to present to king Ferdinand, in a convention of the states held at Prague, a petition, in which they deplored the state of the public, and their own sad condition, who had a victorious and most cruel enemy for so near a neighbour: it was high time therefore, they urged, to look out for remedies; and "especially that the wrath of God might be appeased, which, being provoked by the sins of men, brought such judgments upon them." They set forth the evils that prevailed; that all discipline, public and private, was at an end; but that "the contempt of the word of God was the chief cause

1541. Dec. 13.

[1] Seck. iii. 399, 400. Sleid. 298, 316.

[2] Above p. 180.

of all." From both sacred and profane history they shewed, that God "had many times severely punished the most flourishing kingdoms for false worship and the contempt of his word." They pointed out the formidable indications which appeared of like evils coming upon themselves; and proceeded: "Truly we know no other remedy, most dread sovereign, than that the word of God be purely taught, and the people stirred up to amendment of life; for in the true worshipping of God all our safety consists." Adverting to the points which had been agreed upon, and to the injunctions given at Ratisbon to the bishops to reform the abuses in their churches, they add: "Wherefore we humbly beseech your majesty to give command that the gospel be purely taught, especially that point of doctrine which relates to justification—that our sins are pardoned through Christ alone: in the next place, that men be exhorted to the practice of charity and good works, which are the fruits and evidences of faith; that they be made afraid of sin; ... that those who desire it be permitted to have the Lord's supper administered to them according to the custom of the primitive church; that the bishops be required to reform abuses, and to appoint able ministers to instruct the people, and not to turn out sound preachers, as they have hitherto done." Many churches, they stated, "were now altogether destitute;[1] whence it came to pass, that the common sort of people were with difficulty kept from wholly degenerating into paganism." "We therefore," they conclude, "humbly pray your majesty, not to be wanting to us in so pious and necessary a cause. And let not your majesty think

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[1] Above, p. 180.

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that we so importunately beg this, that we may thereby have greater liberty, or because we are given to change: for we acknowledge that our salvation rests only upon Christ; that the knowledge of the gospel is to be adorned with holiness of living; and that we are bound to obey and serve your majesty with our lives and fortunes."

This petition was presented, in the name of the nobility and states of Austria, by twenty-four noblemen, and ten cities, (among which was Vienna,) besides their neighbours of Stiria and Carniolia, who united with them.

Ferdinand, in the style with which statesmen are familiar, condoled with them under the evils which they lamented, and which caused him extreme grief; protested the deep interest which he took, and had manifested in the cause of religion; and declared that no due admonition, on his part, should be wanting to churchmen. He still hoped, he told them, for a satisfactory adjustment of existing differences: in the mean time, they must "submissively wait, and, without attempting any change or innovation, follow the footsteps of their forefathers, walking in the old way of their religion, as well as of (civil) duty and obedience. As to the decree of Ratisbon, they must not imagine that it in any way concerned them; the intent of it being only that the catholics should continue in the old religion, and the protestants in that which they followed at the time of the accommodation, till a final arrangement should be made: and, this being the case, he could not allow his people to act in any other way."

This answer being received, the petition was in substance renewed, though in few words; with the observation, that, unless the object aimed at were granted, victory and good suc-

cess against the Turks could not be hoped for.[1] —England could not at this period have furnished a proceeding comparable to the petition of "the nobles of Austria:" yet what is the religious state of Austria to this day, and what has been that of Great Britain almost from that era to the present time! A. D. 1541.

We have seen Venice spoken of as a place which waited the result of the proceedings at Ratisbon, and was ready to receive the reformation, if the conferences and negotiations there should have a favourable issue.[2] Near the close of the year 1542 an interesting correspondence was opened between that city and Luther. A long letter is preserved, addressed to him by Balthasar Alterius, an Italian, acting as secretary to the English envoy, written in the name of "the brethren of the church of Venice, Vicenza, and Treviso." It breathes, as Seckendorf observes, much pious affection, earnest desire after pure religion, constancy amid persecutions, and high veneration for Luther, whom the persons concerned regard as "their spiritual father." The fault of the letter is, that it is too elaborate and oratorical. We should gladly have commuted somewhat of its elegance, for a portion of the admirable simplicity of the Waldensian address to Œcolampadius, which formerly engaged our attention. It apologizes for the parties concerned having so long neglected to acknowledge to Luther the great obligations which they owed to him—a sort of communication which must have proved consolatory to both parties on account of their common faith;[3] complains of the exile, imprisonment, and various species of persecution to

and of Venice.

Letter to Luther.

[1] Sleid. 285—287. [2] Above, p. 287. [3] Rom. i. 12.

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which they, as residing so near the seat of Antichrist, were exposed from his cruelty; and entreats the interposition of the protestant princes of Germany with the senate of Venice on their behalf; adverts to the sacramental discord, which had been productive of very painful consequences even among *them*; as also to the injury they suffered from heady and high-minded, but incompetent teachers; and implores advice and assistance on these and other points.[1] But the nature of the contents of this letter will, perhaps, be most advantageously gathered from Luther's reply to it. This reply was unknown to Seckendorf, who had ascertained that Luther returned an answer in 1543, but considers it as lost, and regrets that he can only give an extract from one written a year later, which extract shews little more than the writer's pertinacious adherence to his peculiar notion concerning the sacrament. The real answer, however, has since come to light,[2] and a great part of it will be read with pleasure.

His reply.

It is dated at Wittemberg, 13 June, 1543. Luther states, that their letter had been long in reaching him, and that it had found him so reduced and feeble, that he had hoped the time of his departure was at hand. He had entrusted, therefore, to Melancthon the office of answering it: but *he* had been suddenly called away to assist in the reformation of Cologne. Luther himself, however, had recovered, though he was still weak; and amidst a multiplicity of business he had again laid his hands on their letter;

[1] Seck. iii. 401—403.

[2] It is given in the volume of Luther's letters published at Nuremberg, 1814, pp. 310—316, from Hummelii Nova Biblioth. lib. rar.

from which, says he, "I find in you such and so great gifts of God's prevenient grace, that I feel ashamed of myself, who, after being so many years conversant in the word of God, am conscious that I fall far short of the spirit which actuates you. I am sensible that what you in your candour and affection attribute to me, I do not deserve. I really am much below the opinion you form of me. I am a sinful man; though one whom God hath called out of the deepest darkness into his marvellous light, and, unfit and unworthy as I am of it, hath committed to me so great and weighty a ministry. A. D. 1541.

"I rejoice exceedingly, and heartily congratulate you, and bless God the father of all grace and heavenly benediction, that, whether by means of my writings or those of others, he has made known to you the saving and unspeakable mystery of his Son Jesus Christ. From me indeed, directly at least, you can have derived but little, since I have but seldom written in Latin, and have small pretensions in that way. But through what channel you have derived the blessing is of little consequence. God is the source of all, both to you and to us: to Him be praise and glory: Amen!"

He proceeds: "I have been ready to abstain from answering your letter, seeing nothing that I had to say, worth writing to persons whom God had prevented with so rich gifts of his Spirit. For what spiritual good can be wanting to those, who know and confess Christ the Son of God; who so ardently hunger and thirst after righteousness; who are so happy as to suffer for Christ, in the manner you do; and who hold Antichrist and all the enemies of our Divine Master in such utter abhorrence? Who could have hoped for such things from

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people living in Italy itself, the very domain of Antichrist,—who would not willingly tolerate you even if you were placed beyond the boundaries of the world itself. But, by such examples, He, who is *able to do above all we ask or think*, bids us ask and confidently expect of him, that he will accomplish the work which he has begun in you.—That I may not, however, disappoint or grieve you, I will cast myself on your candour and kindness, and write you such an answer as I am able."

He then tells them that he was urging upon the protestant princes the interposition in their behalf which they requested; and he conceives there would be no obstacle to it, nor any delay, but what unavoidably arose from the distance at which the different princes lived from each other, and the weight of business which pressed upon them.

Concerning the sciolists and prophets that "ran without being sent," of whom they complained, he says he could easily believe what they stated; for such persons had given him more trouble than Antichrist himself had done. "But," he adds, "we are *not better than our fathers: there must needs be heretics, that they who are approved may be made manifest. There were false prophets among the people*, St. Peter observes, and so *there will be false teachers among you*."

"With one party, or a portion of one party of the sacramentarians," he observes, "we have come to agreement. May the Saviour grant it to be firm and lasting! This includes the people of Basle, Strasburg, and Ulm: and Bucer is now acting as the colleague of Melancthon in the reformation of Cologne; which could not be allowed, nor would Melancthon

himself suffer it, if Bucer were not reckoned sound upon this point. But the Swiss, particularly in and about Zurich, persevere in their error." He then in the strongest terms repeats and enforces his own doctrine, that even the ungodly "receive with their (bodily) mouths the (literal) body and blood of Christ along with the bread and wine!" A. D. 1541.

"Our churches," he says, "are at peace: through the grace of God, sound doctrine, the right use of the sacraments, and learned and faithful pastors are every where found among them. But the proper fruit of the word is not equally apparent. The hearts of the people are cold; and many abuse spiritual liberty to the encouragement of lukewarmness and carnal security. May the Lord Christ increase in *you* the gifts of his Spirit! May he correct and perfect all things amongst us, and hasten the day of our redemption! The world, the Turk, and the pope rage in blasphemies against the Lord, lay waste his kingdom, and mock at his will. Yet they riot in abundance, and starve the famished members of Christ. But greater and mightier is *He that is in us, than he that is in the world.* He triumphs and will triumph in you even unto the end. May he comfort you by his Spirit, by which he hath called you into the union of his mystical body! We cease not to give thanks for you, and have no doubt that you do the same for us."

With respect to books, (a subject which they had mentioned to him,) he says: "I hope you have Melancthon's Common Places, and what he has written on Romans, Daniel, and some other books of scripture. Of mine, scarcely any are in Latin, except my exposition of Galatians, which was taken down by the hands of others. Those in German are of no use to you.

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"Farewel in the Lord! Respectfully and affectionately salute all the brethren in the Lord, and commend me to their prayers, that the Lord may in a happy hour take me to himself! I am weary of living: I have lived long enough; and have seen greater things effected all around, than any one could have hoped for when I first assailed indulgences, with much more caution and respect than they deserved. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *who only doeth wondrous things!* Amen."

Remarks upon it.

The whole spirit and tenour of this letter, if some passages relative to the sacramentarian controversy be excepted, is admirable. It bespeaks in a beautiful manner the humility, modesty, fervent and affectionate piety, and true wisdom of the matured servant and experienced minister of Christ.—Some of the remarks on the state of the protestant churches at that time are, it is to be feared, painfully applicable to the state of things among ourselves. Even where "sound doctrine" is preached, "the fruit of the word is not equally apparent." Would to God that the censure did not apply, "The hearts of the people are cold; and many abuse spiritual liberty to the encouragement of lukewarmness and carnal security." Such evils, being indulged, lead to consequences which Germany has felt, and in which may Great Britain never partake! But, that this prayer may be answered, be it the concern of each of us to consider his own share in the censure conveyed, and to "stir up himself" to more vigorous exercises of faith and calling upon God!

Luther's Works.

From this letter of Luther's to the Venetians we may pass to a brief notice of the principal works published by him about this period.

On Councils.

One of these, very seasonable at a time when

so much was said of the convocation of a council, and so much expected from it, was on the nature, powers, and uses of such ecclesiastical assemblies. The work was written in German only, but it is highly commended by Seckendorf as abounding with erudition and sound wisdom. From the abstract given of it, it certainly does not appear calculated to raise very high our opinion of what had been done, or was likely to be done by councils.—On the legitimate powers of a council he lays down, what will appear very obvious to us, though it would not be so to the people of that age, that it "could not make any article of faith, or enjoin any new duty, or render novel ceremonies binding on men's consciences: neither had it a right to intermeddle with civil government, or to make canons for the aggrandizement of its own members: on the contrary, it ought to see that all innovations in doctrine, repugnant to the holy scriptures, with all superstitious or unprofitable ceremonies, were condemned and removed, and always to make scripture the rule for the determination of controversies." He then proceeds to define the church, and to point out marks by which the true church was to be known—very different from those which the Romish church had laid down.[1]

A. D. 1539.

This work was highly offensive to the papists. Maimbourg says, "Luther now did all in his power to prevent a council, and wrote to deny and vacate the authority granted by Christ to his church."[2]—In the course of the work Luther

[1] Sleid. 250. Seck. iii. 244—251.

[2] In Seck. iii. 200. Luther, in a book which he afterwards wrote against Henry of Brunswick, distinctly states the reasons why he and his friends called for a council: "We demand a council, that our church's plea may be openly

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remarks the extreme difficulty there was in collecting a clear, definite, and consistent sense from the Fathers. He had himself laboriously attempted it, but with little success, even before he commenced his attacks upon the papacy.[1] Elsewhere he says of the pious Bernard, "You will find him a different man at different times. When he speaks of Christ and of grace, he breathes honey and roses: but, when he gets into discussion about the law, he loses sight of what he had taught concerning Christ. And the like is the case with most of them."[2]—This Luther says without any disparagement of the proper declaration and use of the law, as is evident from extracts formerly given, and from what he writes against the "antinomians" in the very work we are considering.

What he observes, in speaking of the artifices and insincerity of the enemies of evangelical truth, is remarkable: "Popish writers pretend that they have always taught what we now teach concerning faith and good works, and that they are unjustly accused of the contrary.[3] Thus the wolf puts on the sheep's skin till he gains admission into the fold."[4]

On conciliation.

In an exposition of the hundred and tenth Psalm he pronounces a strong sentence upon the schemes of those, who thought that the differences between the Roman catholics and the protestants might be made up by compromise and mutual concession. "Let them go on:

heard; that your doctrine, contrary to Christ's doctrine, may be condemned; and that men, being reclaimed from it, may know and embrace the true worship of God." Sleid. 273. Certainly they never desired an assembly so constituted and so conducted as to preclude all fair discussion.

[1] Seck. iii. 245.

[2] On the Psalms of Degrees. See Seck. iii. 304.

[3] See Bossuet.

[4] Seck. iii. 246 (8).

we shall not envy the success of their labours: they will be the first who could ever convert the devil, and reconcile him to Christ. In things which are in our power, in ceremonies and externals, we may lawfully seek agreement in this way: but not in things pertaining to the faith and kingdom of Christ. The sceptre of the Lord admits of no bending and joining, but must remain straight and unchanged, the rule of faith and of practice." [1] A. D. 1539.

On the subject of defence, or resistance, which was much discussed in a meeting of the allies at Francfort, he writes again in the same strain which we have before considered. Indeed his mind seems now to have been fully made up on that subject, and upon very solid grounds. "It is the duty," he says, "of every prince to promote the exercise of true religion in his dominions, and to protect it against external violence. This defence is authorized both by the divine law and by that of nature, against all persons of only equal authority; and, even if the name of the emperor, and the recesses of the diet were alleged, these were invalid from the defect of consent, and the protests and appeals lodged against them. The emperor is not an absolute monarch: power over religion can never belong to him, seeing he cannot exercise even political power, except with certain forms, and the consent of the princes." He still, however, limits resistance strictly to defence when attacked: he would have no anticipation of aggression. [2] On resistance.

A letter is preserved among his German works, which he addressed, in conjunction with Bugenhagius, Jonas, Melancthon, and Cruciger, On absolution.

[1] Seck. iii. 252. [2] Ib. 252, 253.

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to the senate of Nuremberg, concerning a general form of absolution used, after the sermon, in the protestant churches. Osiander objected to it, on the ground that there were many in the congregation not prepared for absolution. Luther and his friends thought the form unobjectionable; but advised that, if Osiander felt scruples, he should be allowed to omit it, without either censuring those who used it, or being censured by them.[1]—Had this truly wise and charitable way of healing differences, in things not essential, been generally adopted, how would the peace, and even the uniformity, of the church have been promoted! many are the subjects of discord which would have thus dropped silently into oblivion, while injunction or prohibition has now given them perpetuity!

On the study and exposition of scripture.

In some very pious and edifying lectures on the "Psalms of Degrees," (cxx—cxxxiv,) he commends earnestly the study and exposition of the word of God, which he considers as the special service and offering that God now required of his ministers. He warns the people against fastidiousness, conceit, and a want of relish for the divine word—"a disease," he says, "which too naturally grows up in us, and is more dangerous in proportion as it is apt to be unobserved. But Satan has assuredly gained

[1] Seck. iii. 253. Yet Osiander was not a man whose spirit and conduct towards others were calculated to procure their indulgence towards him. See Melch. Adam, or the brief statement from him in Milner v. 578. (Appendix, 18.) Osiander's peculiar and unintelligible dogma, on which he raised a sharp controversy, was, that the righteousness by which believers are justified is not that wrought out by the incarnate Saviour, and imputed to them, but the essential righteousness of the divine nature, infused or communicated by the indwelling of the Deity in them!

a victory when we begin to slumber, to be secure, and to feel satiated." A. D. 1540.

The following passage is beautifully expressive of that simplicity of taste for divine truth, which is a strong mark of advancement in wisdom and in grace. "I am a professed divine, who, amidst various dangers, have attained some moderate experience and skill in the sacred scriptures: but this does not prevent my having daily recourse to the catechism, to the creed, the decalogue, and the Lord's prayer. I rehearse them to myself with a close consideration of every word,—what truth it really conveys. And, when a multiplicity of business, or any other cause prevents my doing this, I sensibly feel the want of it. The word of God is given us thus to exercise and quicken our minds, which without such a practice contract rust, as it were, and lose their tone. We see into what snares men continually fall: and what else is the reason of it, but that they are secure, they do not pray, they do not hear and meditate on the divine word; they are content with having it in the book, where they may read it when they please. Hence Satan imperceptibly instils into their hearts a contempt for the word; and this leaves them exposed to despair or other great dangers. For with what shall a man defend himself against the enemies of his soul, when he has lost *the sword of the Spirit?*"

On the evils attending the Reformation.

Another passage presents Luther's own answer to those who exaggerated the mischiefs consequent upon the reformation, and represented them as so great that it would have been better had no change been attempted. "It is not easy to get over those scandals, when Satan, or when subtle and able men set them forth in

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glaring colours, and charge us as the authors of them. Erasmus, among others, has told us, that there are certain diseases which it is better not to meddle with; the attempt to cure them is attended with so much danger. This sounds wise; and we ourselves are well aware of the evils complained of: we see the licentious liberty that prevails, and the dissolution of discipline, greater than existed under the papacy. But are we answerable for this? In preaching the word, in contending by means of the word, we do but as we are commanded; nor may we on any consideration withhold obedience to the divine command. The kingdom of Christ is of more worth, not only than peace—especially such a peace as existed under the papacy—but than heaven and earth themselves. And then consider the other side: open your eyes and see the monstrous impieties which before prevailed! No where was one pure sentence heard concerning sin—grace—the merit of Christ—really good works—the magistracy and other offices and relations of life. All was deformed and lost beneath corrupt and pernicious glosses. Then, what were the profanations of masses, what the impostures of indulgences, purgatory, and other abominations devised only as sources of gain! Mankind appear to me to have been purposely and studiously exposed, by impious teachers, to Satan and eternal death. Look at the two sides of the question—there are evils and disorders on both—but which of the two is to be preferred? I had almost said I would rather live in hell with the word of God, than in paradise without it."[1]

His own history.

Speaking against confidence in man, and re-

[1] Compare pp. 154, 155, above.

liance on numbers, he thus notices his own early history. "When at the beginning of my course I wrote against indulgences and other abuses, this gift was divinely bestowed upon me, that I was convinced I ought to take the cause, great and mighty as it was, upon myself alone, and support it by the divine help, without other dependence. If I had relied on the increasing numbers whom the goodness of the cause attached to it, and attempted any thing by their means, my end would have been like that of Munzer."[1] A. D. 1540.

A work of Luther's against antinomianism connects with the history a person whose name has already appeared in this work, and from whom better things might have been hoped. This was John Agricola Islebius, that is Agricola of Eisleben,—the same place of which Luther was a native. This man was of humble origin, but, having obtained some previous education, he had studied at Wittemberg under Luther and Melancthon, whose tenets he professed to embrace. He afterwards became master of the school in his native town, and was admitted a preacher; in the discharge of which office he appears to have possessed a degree of popular talent. Hence he was taken by Albert count Mansfeld, in the train of the elector of Saxony, to the diet of Spires in 1526, and to that of Augsburg in 1530; and it is in the latter connexion that we have heard of him as one of the protestant preachers.[2] He appears to have been a vain and inconstant man, prone to innovation, but without firmness to adhere to his own dogmas: and we accordingly read of his repeatedly recanting them. Elated with his honours, On Antinomianism. Agricola Islebius.

[1] Seck. iii. 301—306. [2] Above, p. 23.

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he ventured to animadvert on Melancthon, for the form of ecclesiastical visitation which he had drawn up in 1527. He afterwards removed to Wittemberg, and was allowed to preach, and read lectures in the university. He broached opinions, however, which Luther felt himself called upon to refute, and which their author then abandoned. About the year 1538 he circulated, anonymously, some theses maintaining that the law is not to be preached for the purpose of bringing sinners to repentance, and condemning what Luther had advanced in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, concerning the use of the law in awakening the consciences of men. With these theses others were connected, whether written by Agricola or by some of his followers is uncertain, in which S. Peter was charged with not understanding Christian liberty, and his exhortation to Christians, to give "diligence to make their calling and election sure," was openly reprehended.

Uses of the law.

Against these pernicious dogmas, Luther, without naming their author, maintained and published six academical disputations;[1] in which he affirmed it to be the proper office of the law, as given to sinners, to discover to them the wrath of God against their offences, and thus to lead them to conviction and repentance of sin: so that repentance, properly so called, may be said to take its beginning from the law: and he shews this to be the plan and doctrine of scripture, even according to the very texts which had been adduced on the other side. He particularly insists on S. Paul's method in the Epistle to the Romans, which begins with the

[1] Opera. i. 400. Wittemb.

"revelation of wrath;" and it is "silly trifling," he says, "to talk of preaching that revelation of wrath, and yet not preaching the law—which, in fact, is the self-same thing." Moreover the law (he asserts,) was to be set forth, not only to the ungodly, for the purposes just mentioned, but also to godly persons, to admonish them of the duty of crucifying the flesh and their various evil propensities and passions. To talk, therefore, of taking away the preaching and use of the law out of the church would be a blasphemous impiety.—He then points out the consequences to which antinomian principles lead; one of which is the subversion of the doctrine of grace itself: for, he says, "*where there is no law there is no transgression*, and, where there is no knowledge of sin, there can be none of its forgiveness, or of grace; and the result will be, that men will live careless and unconcerned except about the present world."—"These men," he remarks, "pretend to preach finely about grace and the remission of sins, but they avoid the doctrine of sanctification and newness of life in Christ;—forsooth that men may not be rendered uneasy, but may enjoy uninterrupted consolation. For, whereas they ought to say, If you be an adulterer, a fornicator, drunken, proud, covetous, an usurer, you can be no Christian; [instead of this they say,] 'Though you be such, only believe in Christ, and you will have no need to fear the law; Christ hath fulfilled it all!—They see not how sanctification follows upon justification; so that a Christian must necessarily be a partaker of the Holy Spirit, and lead a new life: and, if he does not do that, let him know that he has no part in Christ."

A. D. 1540.

Concerning himself, Luther made an obser-

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vation which has by no means met with the regard to which it was entitled; "That, if at any time he had taught that the law was not to be preached in the church, it was unjust to impute to him a sentiment long ago discarded, when he had since clearly and frequently laid down the contrary. He had taught many other things under the papacy with great sincerity; and indeed there was scarcely now to be found so miserable and burdened a papist as, from conscience and the fear of God, he had once been: no wonder then if he had need *to grow* in the knowledge of Christ."

After this publication of Luther's, Agricola again professed to renounce his errors: but his conduct was very unsteady and inconsistent. He afterwards withdrew into the dominions of the elector of Brandenburg, and insinuated himself into his favour. Luther congratulated himself on his removal from Wittemberg, and complained bitterly of the trouble he suffered from such airy and conceited spirits, calling themselves his disciples.[1]—The account of this man may suggest useful admonition; and he gave occasion to discussions, the result of

[1] Seck. iii. 306—310.—In some letters to Stratner, a pastor in Brandenburg, Luther is very lively, and not a little severe, upon Agricola. "Mr. Grickel" (so his name was facetiously contracted,) is not, nor ever will be, the man that he would be thought, or that the elector takes him to be. If you would know what vanity is, you will never find a truer image of it. You may see it depicted in his gestures, his voice, his laughter, in every movement of his body and mind. His vain glory is so excessive that he can never serve the cause of God, but may much injure it. You may believe what I say, though Mr. Grickel should be extolled to the skies by himself or his admirers.—He has so often deceived us, that I have no further hope of him."—Luth. Epist. Strobel. 184 and 185.

which, even as here briefly exhibited, may not be unimportant. A. D. 1540.

Luther also at this time addressed the pastors of the church on the duty of preaching against the exaction of usury,[1] which he seems in many cases, though not in all, to extend to the taking of interest for money. Probably he did not make all the distinctions required by the situation of a mercantile country, where money is, in various ways, so extensively borrowed for the purpose of making profit, and not merely for procuring the necessaries of life: but he wrote with honesty and zeal against an evil which he saw oppress his country, and manifest the grasping spirit of the people; and he avowedly referred it to the combined deliberation of statesmen and divines, to determine what exceptions or limitations his rules required. On Usury.

He wrote also a preface to an account, translated from the English, of the martyrdom of Dr. Robert Barnes, who was burned at London, 30 July 1540.[2] Barnes had been well known in Saxony, whither he had some time before come on an embassy from Henry VIII, and had then been a guest of Luther's. Luther blesses God that the examples of the primitive church were renewed, in men thus sacrificing their lives for their Saviour: "but who," he asks, "would ten years ago have expected this honour to be gained by Barnes," who in Germany had passed under an assumed name for fear of the papists?[3] Martyrdom of Barnes.

In the next year he published expositions of the ninetieth Psalm, (the "prayer of Moses the man of God,") and of some of the minor pro- On the 90th Psalm.

[1] Opera, vii. 401. Alt. Seck. iii. 310—312.
[2] Fox says 1541. [3] Seck. iii. 261, 262.

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phets.[1] In the former he has some striking observations in the preface. There were at that time men, he says, and more would afterwards arise, who despised theological studies, and indeed *all* studies: there ought therefore to be some to proclaim the praises of God, and to disseminate the knowledge of his word. In such pursuits he desired to spend his days; and, in particular, he would employ the remainder of them in explaining the writings of Moses, the fountain from which both prophets and apostles, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, had drawn. "The object of this Psalm," he says, "is to present awful views of death, to alarm hypocrites and careless sinners: so that here Moses eminently appears in his true character, of the lawgiver, tracing death, both temporal and eternal, to its cause in the wrath of God against sin. He withholds not consolation, however, in the prayer with which the Psalm closes."

On blasphemous thoughts.

On blasphemous thoughts and temptations he remarks, that they are no proof or occasion of divine displeasure, when we hate and reject them: they are even made a special means of calling forth those "groanings which cannot be uttered," that are peculiarly pleasing to God.

On Christian communion.

On the benefit to be derived from Christian communion he thus feelingly speaks. "I am myself a professor of theology, and many have acknowledged that they had derived no inconsiderable assistance from me: yet I have often felt myself most sensibly raised and helped by a single word from a brother, who thought himself very much my inferior. The word of a brother, pronounced from holy scripture in a

[1] Seck. iii. 374—377.

time of need, carries an inconceivable weight with it. The Holy Spirit accompanies it, and by it moves and animates the hearts of his people as their circumstances require. Thus Timothy, and Titus, and Epaphroditus, and the brethren who met S. Paul from Rome, cheered his spirit, however much they might be inferior to him in learning and skill in the word of God. The greatest saints have their times of weakness, when others are stronger than they." A. D. 1541.

Such passages present a pleasing view of the humility and piety of the writer's mind.

In the same year he published an earnest Exhortation to Prayer against the Turks. In this work he solemnly admonishes both parties in Germany of their sins; the papists of their errors and cruelties, the protestants of their corruption of manners, which dishonoured the sound doctrine they professed. Particularly he reprehends the repugnance of both nobles and people to endure pastoral reproof, and their unwillingness decently to provide for their ministers, at a time when the articles of life had risen to three times their former price; a circumstance which he ascribes in great measure to the prevailing spirit of avarice and rapacity. He anticipates that God would ere long punish Germany, either by civil war or by means of the Turks. He earnestly exhorts all orders of men to reformation; and then, having made that their first care, to exertion against the enemy. And here he rejects every idea of despondency, or of sitting still and doing nothing, referring all, like the Mahometans themselves, to predestination and fate. "It is true," he says, "that what God hath ordained must come to pass; but I am not commanded, rather I am forbidden, to pry into his unrevealed purposes. As I know On the Turks and Germans. (Predestination.)

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them not, it is tempting God to neglect what I evidently ought to do, and thus to plunge myself in ruin. Precepts are given, that I may know and do my duty: the word of God teaches me that, and bids me commit what is unknown to God." He quotes 2 Sam. x. 12: "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth him good." "Thus," he says, "let us do, and discharge our duty, and not trouble ourselves about predestination, concerning [the specific appointments of] which we have no revelation, no light, no knowledge at all. Let us dismiss the subject from our thoughts, and leave it in the obscurity which belongs to it; only taking care to do what is commanded us, and what we know ought to be done."[1]—In the early part of his course, it seems, Luther had expressed a different sort of sentiment; "That to war against the Turk was downright fighting against God, who smote the people by him as by a scourge." This having excited, and not without reason, much animadversion, he in the year 1528 published an explanation of what he had better, perhaps, have frankly retracted. Very justly, however, he says, "I disapproved it, that the court of Rome continually urged on our princes to war, not from real earnestness in it, but as a pretext for extorting money from Germany, while in the mean time no reformation of life and manners was attempted; and especially that they called that war *a Christian war*, as if we fought against the Turks for being the enemies of Christ; whereas the true ground of resisting them must be, not that they are of a different religion, but

[1] Seck. iii. 379, 380.

because they rob and plunder, and carry on most unjust warfare." [1] His views, therefore, were corrected long before the present time: and, the year after his Exhortation to Prayer, he published a Camp Sermon, for the assistance of the chaplains and the use of the troops who were then actually going against the Turks. Amongst very appropriate instruction for all classes, he offers some explanations of certain prophecies of Daniel, different from those which have subsequently been sanctioned by the best commentators. However, he ventures on these grounds to express a pretty confident opinion, with which the event has corresponded: "The Turk," he says, "now makes a bustle in Hungary, and is ready to invade Germany, but it is the last act of the tragedy. He may possibly, indeed, get some footing in those provinces, but it is not to be thought that he can peaceably enjoy them, as he does Asia, Greece, and Egypt." [2] A. D. 1541.

Among his letters of this period an interesting one is preserved, addressed to Myconius, pastor of Gotha, who was very ill and appeared drawing near his end. This good man had written Luther word that he was "sick, not unto death, but unto life;" meaning that he expected his sickness to remove him to life everlasting; a sentence which vastly pleased the reformer. In his answer he said, "I beg and implore of the Lord Jesus, who is our life, our health, and our salvation, that he would not permit such an addition to be made to what I suffer, as that I should see you or any of my comrades break Frederick Myconius.

[1] Sleid. 292—294.

[2] Ib. 294, 295. Compare Milner, v. 457, 458. (1053—1055.) The three countries named, he understands to be meant by the "three horns," Dan. vii. 8.

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through the veil and enter into rest, leaving me here behind in the midst of demons. I pray the Lord to make me sick instead of you, and to suffer me to lay down the tabernacle of an exhausted and useless body, which has done its work." And again, at the close of his letter; "Farewel, my dear Frederick; may the Lord never permit me to hear of your taking your passage, while I remain behind; but may you be the survivor. So I ask, and such is my will, and let my will be done. Amen!—I say this because my will is directed to the glory of God, and not to my own pleasure.—Again farewel! we pray for you from our inmost souls, and are greatly afflicted at your illness."—Myconius recovered, and survived Luther, which he attributed to Luther's prayers. He said the effect of Luther's letter was such, that in reading it he seemed to hear the voice of Christ saying, "Lazarus, come forth!"[1]

Melancthon

A few additional particulars may be noted from his letters. Concerning Melancthon, who, having this year received an addition of a hundred florins to his stipend, proposed to continue the Greek lecture at Wittemberg without remuneration, Luther wrote to the elector, wishing him to appoint some younger person to perform that service. "Melancthon," he said, "had been like a servant of all work to the university for twenty years past, and he well deserved the additional emolument which the elector had awarded him. The whole Christian world, moreover, was indebted to him; and the adherents of Rome, he was happy to say, feared none among the learned so much as Melancthon and those who had been trained by him."

[1] Melch. Ad. in F. Mycon. 88. Seck. iii. 380.

—This letter is honourable to the disinterestedness of Melancthon and to the zeal of his friend. A. D. 1541.

Gropper's book.

He wrote again to the elector concerning the book submitted to the collocutors at Ratisbon, which was now, it appears, in the press. He here speaks of it as the most dangerous composition which had appeared since the commencement of the reformation; and he thanks God that the popish party had not accepted it, for he thinks that, if they had done so, most of the protestant body would have been induced to acquiesce in it, and thus, lulled to sleep by the imagination that a satisfactory reformation of doctrine had taken place, would gradually have fallen back into the old corruptions.

Luther's state.

All his letters from this period and forward breathe earnest desires after release, and dismission to his eternal rest; and, though he lived five years longer, it was amidst increasing infirmities and sufferings; and he was very unequal to those severe labours in which he had engaged, and in which, as Seckendorf observes, he still never spared himself. "I am not fit," he says to the elector, "for more service; but Pomeranus, I think, detains me here by the urgency of his prayers both in public and private."—Yet we still see in him the heart of a Christian hero. Writing to Lauterback, pastor of Pirna, he expresses his joy at the reformation begun in Cologne,—of which we shall have to speak hereafter. He says, "If the people of Bethsaida and Chorazin here in our own country will not receive the prophet, there will be found the Samaritans and the woman of Canaan to do it. Let us therefore only persevere in preaching, praying, suffering: a reward awaits our work; we labour not in vain."[1]

[1] Seck. iii. 380, 381.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DIET OF RATISBON TO THE PEACE OF CRESPY.

Events following the Diet of Ratisbon.

We now proceed with the course of events which followed the diet of Ratisbon: and of these we cannot do better than again present, in the first place, the general view furnished by Dr. Robertson.

General view from Dr. Robertson.

Affairs in Hungary had taken an unfortunate turn for the house of Austria; and it was to provide against the consequences of what had occurred or was anticipated in that quarter, that Charles had made such liberal concessions to the protestants in his declaration appended to the recess of the diet. By this means he obtained a vote of such ample supplies of both men and money for carrying on the war against the Turks, as left him under little anxiety about the security of Germany during the next campaign.[1]

Emperor's interview with the Pope. 1541.

"Immediately upon the conclusion of the diet, the emperor set out for Italy. As he passed through Lucca, he had a short interview with the pope; but nothing could be concluded concerning the proper method of composing the religious disputes in Germany, between two princes, whose views and interest with regard to that matter were at this juncture so opposite.

[1] Sleid. 283.

The pope's endeavours to remove the causes of discord between Charles and Francis, and to extinguish those mutual animosities which threatened to break out suddenly into open hostility, were not more successful. The emperor's thoughts were bent so entirely, at that time, on the great enterprise which he had concerted against Algiers, that he listened with little attention to the pope's schemes or overtures, and hastened to join his army and fleet." A. D. 1541.

This second African expedition of Charles's proved as calamitous[1] as the former had been esteemed glorious. Its disastrous issue encouraged the king of France also to begin hostilities against him, on which he had been for some time resolved. A fierce war accordingly commenced in 1542, in which great exertions were made on both sides, but without any very permanent result of importance on either. It was terminated by the peace of Crespy, September 18, 1544.[2] But this is all the notice of these transactions which belongs to this history. We turn more directly to those of Germany. His second African expedition. French War.

"Much about the time that the diet of Ratisbon broke up, Maurice succeeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family. This young prince, then only in his twentieth year, had, even at that early period, begun to discover the great talents which qualified him for acting such a distinguished part in the affairs of Germany. As soon as he entered upon the administration, he struck out into such a new and singular path as shewed that he aimed, from the beginning, at something great and uncommon. Though Maurice of Saxony. 1541. Sep. 19.

[1] Robertson, iii. 222—231. [2] Ib. 233—255, 265—283.

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zealously attached to the protestant opinions, both from education and principle, he refused to accede to the league of Smalkalde, being determined, as he said, to maintain the purity of religion, which was the original object of that confederacy, but not to entangle himself in the political interests or combinations to which it had given rise. At the same time, foreseeing a rupture between Charles and the confederates of Smalkalde, and perceiving which of them was most likely to prevail in the contest, instead of that jealousy and distrust which the other protestants expressed of all the emperor's designs, he affected to place in him an unbounded confidence; and courted his favour with the utmost assiduity. When the other protestants, in the year 1542, either declined assisting Ferdinand in Hungary, or afforded him reluctant and feeble aid, Maurice marched thither in person, and rendered himself conspicuous by his zeal and courage. From the same motive, he had led to the emperor's assistance, during the last campaign, a body of his own troops; and the gracefulness of his person, his dexterity in all military exercises, together with his intrepidity, which courted and delighted in danger, did not distinguish him more in the field, than his great abilities and insinuating address won upon the emperor's confidence and favour.[1] While by this conduct, which appeared extraordinary to those who held the same opinions with him concerning religion, Maurice endeavoured to pay court to the emperor, he began to discover some degree of jealousy of his cousin the elector of Saxony. This, which proved in the sequel so fatal to the elector, had almost

[1] Sleid. 317. Seck. iii. 371, 386, 428.

occasioned an open rupture between them; and, soon after Maurice's accession to the government, they both took arms with equal rage, upon account of a dispute about the right of jurisdiction over a paltry town situated on the Moldaw. They were prevented, however, from proceeding to action by the mediation of the landgrave of Hesse, whose daughter Maurice had married, as well as by the powerful and authoritative admonitions of Luther. [1] A. D. 1542.

"Amidst these transactions, the pope, though extremely irritated at the emperor's concessions to the protestants at the diet of Ratisbon, was so warmly solicited on all hands, by such as were most devoutly attached to the see of Rome, no less than by those whose fidelity or designs he suspected, to summon a general council, that he found it impossible to avoid any longer calling that assembly. The impatience for its meeting, and the expectation of great effects from its decisions, seemed to grow in proportion to the difficulty of obtaining it. He still adhered, however, to his original resolution of holding it in some town of Italy, where, by the number of ecclesiastics, retainers to his court, and depending on his favour, who could repair to it without difficulty or expence, he might influence and even direct all its proceedings. This proposition, though often rejected by the Germans, he instructed his nuncio to the diet held at Spires, in the year 1542, to renew once more; and, if he found it gave no greater satisfaction than formerly, he empowered him, as a last concession, to propose, for the place of meeting, Trent, a city in the Tyrol, subject to the king of the Romans, and Council of Trent proposed: Diet of Spires. March 3.

[1] Sleid. 292. Seck. iii. 403.

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situated on the confines between Germany and Italy. The catholic princes in the diet, after giving it as their opinion that the council might have been held with greater advantage in Ratisbon, Cologne, or some of the great cities of the empire, were at length induced to approve of the place which the pope had named. The protestants unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction, and protested that they would pay no regard to a council held beyond the precincts of the empire, called by the pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding.[1]

The council called: May 22:

"The pope, without taking any notice of their objections, published the bull of intimation, named three cardinals to preside as his legates, and appointed them to repair to Trent before the first of November, the day he had fixed for opening the council. But, if Paul had desired the meeting of a council as sincerely as he pretended, he would not have pitched on such an improper time for calling it. Instead of that general union and tranquillity, without which the deliberations of a council could neither be conducted with security, nor attended with authority, such a fierce war was just kindled between the emperor and Francis, as rendered it impossible for the ecclesiastics from many parts of Europe to resort thither in safety. The legates, accordingly, remained several months at Trent; but, as no person appeared there, except a few prelates from the ecclesiastical state, the pope, in order to avoid the ridicule and contempt which this drew upon him from the enemies of the church, recalled them and prorogued the council.[2]

prorogued 1543. July 6.

[1] Sleid. 291. Seck. iii. 383 [2] F. Paul, 97. Sleid. 296.

"Unhappily for the authority of the papal see, at the very time that the German protestants took every occasion of pouring contempt upon it, the emperor and the king of the Romans found it necessary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favour by repeated acts of indulgence. In the same diet of Spires, in which they had protested in the most disrespectful terms against assembling a council at Trent, Ferdinand, who depended on their aid for the defence of Hungary, not only permitted that protestation to be inserted in the records of the diet, but renewed in their favour all the emperor's concessions at Ratisbon, adding to them whatever they demanded for their further security. Among other particulars, he granted a suspension of a decree of the imperial chamber against the city of Goslar, (one of those which had entered into the league of Smalkalde,) on account of its having seized the ecclesiastical revenues within its domains, and enjoined Henry duke of Brunswick to desist from his attempts to carry that decree into execution. But Henry, a furious bigot, and no less obstinate than rash in all his undertakings, continuing to disquiet the people of Goslar by his incursions, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, that they might not suffer any member of the Smalkaldic body to be oppressed, assembled their forces, declared war in form against Henry,—and in the space of a few weeks, stripping him entirely of his dominions, drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no less severe than sudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power; and the confederates of Smalkalde appeared, by this first effort of their arms, to be as ready as they were

A. D. 1542.

The Emperor courts the Protestants.

Henry of Brunswick expelled.

1542. July.

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able to protect those who had joined their association.[1]

"Emboldened by so many concessions in their favour, as well as by the progress which their opinions daily made, the princes of the league of Smalkalde took a solemn protest against the imperial chamber, and declined its jurisdiction for the future, because that court had not been visited or reformed according to the decree of Ratisbon, and continued to discover a most indecent partiality in all its proceedings. Not long after this, they ventured a step further; and protesting against the recess of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refused to furnish their contingent for that purpose, unless the imperial chamber were reformed, and full security were granted them in every point with regard to religion.[2]

Diet of Nuremberg, April 23. 1543.

Diet of Spires. 1544.

"Such were the lengths to which the protestants had proceeded, and such their confidence in their own power, when the emperor returned from the Low Countries, to hold a diet, which he had summoned to meet at Spires. The respect due to the emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this assembly extremely full. All the electors, a great number of princes ecclesiastical and secular, with the deputies of most of the cities, were present."—The great

[1] Sleid. 296. Commemoratio &c. ap. Scardium ii. 307.

[2] Sleid. 304, 307. Seck. iii. 404, 416, 417.—Christopher von Stadion, the same bishop of Augsburg who has before drawn our attention, was one of the emperor's representatives at the diet of Nuremberg; and he died there of apoplexy. He was a zealous friend to the liberties of Germany, and still continued not unfriendly to the protestants. He was succeeded in his bishopric by Otto Truchses a devoted Romanist. Seck. iii. 416(2).

object of the emperor in this diet was, to prevail on the Germanic body to afford him its hearty and united support in the war in which he was engaged with the king of France; and he succeeded in giving to the assembly such an impression of the conduct of that monarch, who had entered into alliance with Solyman, and of the obstruction which he occasioned to both the great designs, of procuring a general council, and of providing means for effectually checking the formidable progress of the Turkish arms, that all parties seemed well inclined to comply with his wishes. A. D. 1544.

Concessions to the Protestants.

"Such being the favourable disposition of the Germans, Charles perceived that nothing could now obstruct his gaining all that he aimed at, but the fears and jealousies of the protestants, which he determined to quiet by granting every thing that the utmost solicitude of these passions could desire for the security of their religion. With this view, he consented to a recess, whereby all the rigorous edicts hitherto issued against the protestants were suspended; a council, either general or national, to be assembled in Germany, was declared necessary in order to reëstablish peace in the church; until one of these should be held (which the emperor undertook to bring about as soon as possible,) the free and public exercise of the protestant religion was authorized; the imperial chamber was enjoined to give no molestation to the protestants; and, when the term for which the present judges in that court were elected should expire, persons duly qualified were then to be admitted as members, without any distinction on account of religion. In return for these extraordinary acts of indulgence, the protestants concurred with the other mem-

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bers of the diet in declaring war against Francis in the name of the empire," and in voting the requisite subsidies for carrying on both it and the war against the Turks.[1]

With the progress of the war we have here no concern. Its termination by the peace of Crespy, in September 1544, has been already mentioned. Some of the objects which the emperor had in view in concluding that peace will hereafter come under notice, when we speak of the important changes which followed it; but at present we will pause upon the period which has thus been reviewed, and present several details appropriate to the special design of this work.

Family of Henry, Duke of Saxony.

Henry duke of Saxony (whose death is mentioned near the beginning of the above extract,) was advanced in years, and but feeble in mind, when he succeeded his brother George: and, though he concurred with some vigour in the elector's plans for establishing the reformation in his dominions, yet he had feelings of jealousy towards that prince, which were cherished by his late brother's counsellors, whose assistance he found necessary, and whose influence with him increased during his short reign of little more than two years. Previously to his accession he had joined the protestant league, and he did not actually withdraw from it, though his attachment to it was evidently languid.[2] He had two sons, Maurice and Augustus, both of whom successively inherited his dignities. The marriage of the elder, Maurice, with the daughter of the landgrave was a sudden measure, and not thought

1539—1541.

1540.

[1] Robertson, iii. 221, 233, 255—265.
[2] Seck. iii. 214, 218, 223, 371.

to be very agreeable to his parents; but it proved, in the admirable ordinations of providence, an essential link in that remarkable series of events, in which Maurice, having first been a principal instrument of the emperor in subverting, as it appeared, the protestant cause in Germany, afterwards became the means of giving it permanent and independent establishment, and of frustrating all the emperor's ambitious designs.[1]—Seckendorf piously remarks the superintending hand of providence in overruling the novel course into which this young prince struck out, which appears to have been dictated by deep and artful ambition, and which occasioned so much anxiety and distress to his protestant friends. Could he have been brought zealously to coöperate with them, they would have been ready to think themselves secure against the attempts of their enemies: yet very probably he would have been overwhelmed along with them; and then, humanly speaking, no power would have remained to restore either the liberties of Germany, or the protestant religion within the empire.[2] A. D. 1542.

Quarrel between the Elector and Maurice.

I trust the representation which Dr. Robertson makes of the elector and Maurice, as "both taking arms with equal rage" on occasion of the paltry dispute concerning Wurtzen on the Moldaw, is somewhat overcharged. Seckendorf, as well as Sleidan, seems to intimate that the elector had the better cause, though as the dutiful subject of the descendants of Maurice's family, the former thinks it best to bury in oblivion the charges brought against that prince on this occasion.[3] Certainly, however, it is no overstatement to say, that the admonitions of

Luther's address to them.

[1] Seck. iii. 300. [2] Ib. 429. [3] Ib. 413. Sleid. 292.

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Luther to the contending princes were "powerful and authoritative:" they were even surprisingly free and vehement. He apologizes, as an ecclesiastic, for interfering in a political question: but "the credit and the interests of religion," he says, "were at stake, when so fierce a quarrel arose on so trivial an occasion, between princes nearly related, and both of them professed supporters of the protestant faith. Peacemakers," he observes, "are pronounced blessed, and the children of God: whence it might be inferred that peace-breakers were the children of the Devil. And this sentence of our Lord extended to men of all ranks and conditions alike. Should this feud actually break out into a war," he even tells them, "wise men would regard them, instead of great princes, as resembling drunken rustics fighting in a tavern about a broken wine-cup, or idiots contending for a morsel of bread.—In the mean time, this little spark might kindle into a conflagration, over which the enemies of the gospel, and even the Turks themselves might rejoice; while the Devil and his agents would tauntingly observe, 'So these are the leaders who undertake to point out to others the way to heaven!'" He even threatens them with "eternal damnation" if they refused a pacific arrangement of their differences. He refers them to the example of the elector Frederick the Wise, who having a dispute with the people of Erfurt, and being told by some lovers of war, 'that it would not cost him more than five men to take the city,' replied, that 'the loss of one would be too much.' "Retire," he says, "each of you into his chamber, and pray seriously to God: sure I am that his Spirit will give you another mind." He adds, that "he for his part would

take the side of him who was willing to submit his cause to an equitable and peaceable arbitration; and whichever of them it might be, he would animate him to do valiantly in the name of the Lord, in case the other refused his acquiescence."[1] A. D. 1542.

If it should be thought, that in this composition Luther uses strong expressions, and even shews a high sense of his own weight and consequence, we yet cannot but approve his impartiality, and the object to which he applies his influence.[2]

Maurice's Ecclesiastical Regulations. 1543.

Much apprehension might have been entertained for the cause of religion in ducal Saxony, from the habits to which the people had so long been accustomed under the government of George, from the youth and aspiring character of Maurice, from the influence which George's counsellors still retained, and from Maurice's own misunderstandings with the elector. Happily, however, little obstruction occurred, and many of Maurice's plans contributed to extend and render permanent the reformation which had been established in his dominions. In the year 1543 he published a copious instrument for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, in which the instructions given to the clergy were excellent. He founded three noble schools, in which he provided for the free education and support of two hundred and thirty scholars; appointed exhibitions for a hundred students in the university of Leipsic; and, with the concurrence of the states of the province, appropriated for ever the revenues of the vacated monasteries and colleges for these purposes, for the maintenance of the clergy, and for other

[1] Seck. iii. 413. [2] It should be observed, however, that this address was never completed, the quarrel being appeased.

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pious and charitable uses. In order also to do away the apprehension of any capricious changes, he soon after, by a public instrument, constituted the doctors, licentiates, and professors of the university of Leipsic (among whom the names of Ales, Pfeffinger, and Joachim Camerarius occur,) a consistory, to which all matters relating to religion should be referred. Such a measure he thought became him, and was called for by his circumstances, "he being but a youthful prince, and one for whom the civil affairs of his country would find sufficient employment."[1] His provisions for the advancement of religion and learning, were afterwards still further extended and improved, both by himself and by his brother and successor, Augustus.

Further account of Henry of Brunswick.

The proceedings of Henry duke of Brunswick had long manifested his virulent enmity against the protestants.[2] He had been publicly accused before the emperor of sending hired emissaries into Saxony, who set fire to several towns belonging to the elector, and it appears not that he ever cleared himself of the charge.[3] His

[1] Sleid. 311. Seck. iii. 454—456.

[2] Yet in his early days he himself had been inclined to Lutheranism. It appears not that he had any serious reverence for the religion for which he professed so much zeal. In proof of this a curious story is related by Sleidan, (p. 322.) of his causing a stuffed image, which he pretended to be the body of a deceased mistress of his, to be buried with all religious rites, and prayers to be offered for the soul of the departed person for a whole year, while he had actually secreted her in one of his castles, and kept up a constant intercourse with her. From the prevailing opinion of his profaneness, I presume it is, that he is commonly described in the epistles of Melancthon by the name of *Mezentius*.

[3] I presume, though the date is earlier than I should have expected, that it is with reference to these conflagrations that Luther, writing to Spalatinus, 12 April 1534, says, "Nos hic

hostilities against Goslar, and also against the city of Brunswick, were not to be checked by the injunctions of the emperor, and of Ferdinand, or even by the admonitions of the diet.[1] But still the summary and decisive chastisement inflicted upon him by the elector and the landgrave excited considerable jealousy, even among some of their own friends. Henry appealed to the emperor; the matter was repeatedly brought before the diet; and at length it was agreed that his dominions should be held in sequestration by persons appointed by the emperor; an arrangement in which Henry, however, declared that he would never concur. Accordingly, in the year 1545, by what Robertson calls "a mean thievish fraud," availing himself of some troops which the king of France had commissioned him to hire for a widely different purpose, he suddenly marched into his own territories, hoping to recover possession of them before any army could be assembled to oppose him. But the landgrave, being joined by his son-in-law Maurice, and by some troops belonging to the elector, defeated him, and obliged him to surrender himself prisoner: and he was kept in close confinement, until a new reverse of affairs procured him liberty. The emperor declared on this occasion, that he could not disapprove what was done, and only ex-

A. D 1542.

inter flammas habitamus, omni horâ incerti quando conflagremus. Pagi aliquot exusti sunt circum nos: intra urbem queter ignem habuimus; primus absumpsit quatuor domos; cæteri sunt utcunque restincti. Et certum est ab hoste fieri: reperti sunt enim fungi, lychni, pulvis ille bombardicus, fomites." Buddeus, p. 243. At that time, however, suspicion fell upon another person.

[1] Sleid. 275, 298, 299, 352. Seck. iii. 300, 371, 382, 386.

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horted the conquerors to use their victory with moderation.[1]

Reformation of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. 1543.

What we, however, are principally concerned to notice is, the reformation of his country of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, while it was in the hands of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse. A regulation of its ecclesiastical affairs, drawn up by Bugenhagius, Corvinus, and Martin Gorlitz, and fully introducing protestant doctrines and protestant usages, was published by authority in 1543: and, though this was abrogated on Henry's restoration, five years afterwards, yet it was productive of happy effects while it lasted; and the good providence of God so ordered, that the protestant religion was reëstablished in this country by wise and equitable laws, under the government of Julius, the son and successor of Henry.[2] Nay, Henry himself, before his death, became reconciled to the elector and the landgrave, and is spoken of as a convert to the protestant faith.[3]

The contest between Henry of Brunswick and the elector of Saxony had been carried on, not only with the sword but with the pen also, each writing against the other with great acrimony: and, some charges having been thrown out by the former against Luther, he too was induced to join in the controversy, with more than his usual violence and severity.[4] It will not be needful to give any extracts from this work: but we may observe, that in replying to the imputation, that "he had first raised this tragedy of religion at the instigation of the elector

Luther writes in reply to Henry.

[1] Robertson iii. 298, 299. Sleid. 352—355. Seck. iii. 404, 417, 477, 495, 553, 567, 571.

[2] Seck. iii. 448—450. Compare i. 294 (3).

[3] Ib. 379 (10), 572. and Supplem. ad Indicem i.

[4] Ib. 377—379.

Frederick, who was vexed that Albert, archbishop of Mentz, should have the see of Magdeburg also," Luther gives precisely that account of the commencement and progress of his proceedings, which the history of dean Milner exhibits. Respecting the reason for that particular publication of indulgences which first excited his opposition, he furnishes a little further information than I have elsewhere met with. He says, that Albert had been elected to the archbishopric of Mentz on the express condition that he should pay the charges of procuring his own pall from Rome; for, three archbishops having died within a short time, the expence fell too heavily upon the chapter; since each pall cost about thirty thousand florins before it was got home. To reimburse himself, Albert applied for a bull for indulgences, which the pope granted on condition that half the money raised should be applied to the rebuilding of St. Peter's church at Rome.—This statement gives occasion to Sleidan to explain what the consecrated pall was; and his account may deserve to be copied for the display which it makes of the impositions practised by the see of Rome upon her deluded votaries.—" On St. Agnes' day," he says, " when in the mass said in St. Agnes' church at Rome they come to the word, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi*, two white lambs are laid upon the altar, which are afterwards given to two subdeacons of St. Peter's church, who rear, and in due time shear them. Their wool, mixed with other wool, is spun, and woven into these palls, which are three fingers broad, and hang down from the shoulders to the middle of the breast before, and to the reins behind, being kept stretched by thin plates of lead, of the same breadth.

A. D. 1541.

The Palls of Archbishops purchased from Rome.

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When they are thus woven, they are carried to the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and, after some prayers said, are left there all night. Next day the sub-deacons receive them again, and decently lay them up, till some archbishop that needs one of them, or his proctor, (for they are seldom granted to any inferior prelates,) comes to demand one.—This is neither a curious nor a costly commodity, and yet the archbishops pay dear for it to the pope. Nor is any one allowed to use the pall of his predecessor, or, if translated to a new see, to retain his old one." —Well may Luther exclaim, "So well knows the pope how to sell his cloth!"[1]

Situation of the Protestants.

I am not aware that any particular part of the statement which I have copied from Dr. Robertson, concerning the affairs of the protestants at this period, can be charged with incorrectness; yet it must be confessed that the impression made by the whole, concerning their security, their power, and even their triumphant progress, differs materially from that derived from a more minute inspection of original documents. The truth is, they had all this time great difficulties to encounter, and great anxieties to endure: and this was especially the case at the periods of the successive diets. Maimbourg charges them with fierceness and insolence; but Seckendorf observes that their real feelings were of a very different kind. At the time of the diet of Nuremberg, in 1543, in particular, he says, "So great was the accumulation of business, so many the machinations formed against the protestants, such their distrust and want of harmony among themselves, such their alarms and their mistakes, that it is wonderful

[1] Sleid. 272—274.

that their two leaders, the elector and the landgrave, could support the labours and cares which devolved upon them:" and he mentions "twelve large volumes of letters," which passed between the two princes in this one year, as still preserved, independently of those which related immediately to the acts of the diet or the confederation.[1] They were exposed to every species of chicane in their intercourse with the emperor's ministers; at the same time that unbounded professions of confidence and friendship were employed to lull their suspicions to sleep, or to gain their concurrence in measures necessary to the emperor's present projects.[2] Even in his concessions, Charles thought proper to adhere to the practice of which he had first given the example at Ratisbon, by not introducing them into the recesses of the diets, but appending them as declarations made by himself. In this form they had no legal authority; they were never acknowledged by the catholics as obligatory; and the Bavarian ambassador openly declared in the diet, that it were "better that universal ruin should ensue, or that they should submit to the tyranny of the Turks, than that they should acknowledge the imperial declaration to have the force of law."[3] And, though the sentiment was couched in extravagant terms, it must be admitted to have been constitutionally correct.—In like manner, though the emperor would for the time restrain the proceedings of the imperial chamber, and suspend its decrees; and though he even appointed a com-

A. D. 1543.

[1] Seck. iii. 422.

[2] Ib. 422, 426, 473—476. Charles even flattered the landgrave with the idea of making him his generalissimo against the king of France, or against the Turks. 423, 424. Sleid. 326.

[3] Seck. iii. 423, 474, 475. Also 416, 417.

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mission to investigate its conduct, and examine into the complaints of the protestants against it; he would rescind nothing that it had done, nor make any change in its constitution, by admitting any others than catholics to act as judges. All its decrees, though their execution was suspended, remained in force, to be acted upon when circumstances might permit it.[1] Add to this the persecutions carried on under the emperor's sanction, wherever his power was not controlled;[2] together with the very obvious reflections, that circumstances imperiously required him for the present to act the part he did in Germany, and that to be so compelled and restrained must have been intolerably galling to a prince of Charles's despotic and ambitious temper: we shall then not wonder at the anxieties of the protestant party, or at hearing the elector thus pibusly, though gloomily, vent his feelings. "If," says he, "according to the prophecy of Daniel, the empire is doomed to dissolution, and the time of that event is at hand; what is appointed must be borne: but may Almighty God, the Father of all mercy, shew himself the Lord, and the Parent, and the Master in this cause, and direct all things better than human foresight could conceive! May he withstand the pope, the Turk, the emperor, and the French, and preserve his word in safety to the end of time, whatever may become of all beside!"[3]—We shall admire also the spirit

[1] Seck. iii. 420—422.

[2] See account of the martyrdom of Peter Bruley at Tournay, &c. Sleid. 341, 342. "The emperor had sent out most severe edicts against the Lutherans of the Lower Germany and the Netherlands, under his dominion, which were twice a year publicly read over in those places."

[3] Seck. iii. 417.

manifested by Luther and his friends under these circumstances. The citizens of Augsburg had extensive commercial dealings with Italy; and they had through that channel received intimations, how confidently a speedy suppression of Lutheranism, by the united efforts of the pope and the emperor, was now anticipated. They communicated their apprehensions to the elector, who laid the case before Luther and his colleagues. Their reply was: "We see that we can by no mere human prudence secure this great object—the preservation of pure and orthodox religion. Let us do, therefore, whatever we can towards it, that may be agreeable to the will of God; but let us never think that it is in our power to provide against all future dangers; and let us be careful to avoid all unlawful means of attempting it."—In the final clause they especially refer to a disposition intimated on the part of the Augsburgers, to refuse to have the next diet held in their city, if the emperor should require it.[1] A. D. 1543.

Duke of Cleves dispossessed of Gueldres.

One transaction of the emperor's, at the very time that he was courting the protestants, was personally painful to the elector of Saxony, and at the same time pretty clearly spoke the real sentiments of its author. William, duke of Cleves, the elector's brother-in-law, had a dispute with the emperor respecting the duchy of Gueldres, of which the former held possession. He was well affected towards the reformation, and would gladly have availed himself of the assistance of the protestant confederates in support of his claim; but, as they declined to interfere in a dispute merely of a political nature, he sought protection in an alliance with the king of France.

[1] Seck. iii. 497.

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1543. August 24. The emperor, however, marched into his country, and compelled him to submit in the most abject manner, and the first article of the treaty which he made with him was, "That he should not depart from the religion of the catholic church; and, if he had made any alterations, should restore things again as they were before."[1]

The Pope's remonstrance against Charles's indulgence.

The proceedings of the late diets were in a high degree offensive to the court of Rome. The pope, considering both Charles's concessions to the protestants, and his consenting to call a council, and to admit of public disputations in Germany, with a view to determining the doctrines in controversy, as sacrilegious encroachments upon the prerogatives of the holy see, addressed to him "a remonstrance, rather than a letter, on this subject, written in a style of such high authority, as discovered more of an intention to draw on a quarrel than of a desire to reclaim him." He tells him, that "in the discharge of his own duty, and in the love he bore to him, he could not dissemble his thoughts concerning his proceedings, which tended to the danger of his own soul, and the great disturbance of the church." "He had ever before his eyes," he says, "the example of Eli, the high priest, whom God severely punished for his too great indulgence to his sons;" the like to which might befal himself, if he suffered the emperor, "the first-born son" of the church, thus to go astray without admonition. It behoved the emperor to follow "the uniform practice of the church, and the custom of his forefathers,"

1544. Aug. 23.

[1] Sleid. 315. Seck. iii. 259 (14). Robertson (iii. 251.) does not notice this article, which yet appears to have taken the lead in the treaty.

which was to refer the whole decision of all matters in debate, relating to religion, to the see of Rome: but, so far from doing this, he had taken upon him to appoint general and national councils, without any regard to *him*, who "alone had the power of calling councils, and determining the affairs of religion:" nay, not only so, he had "allowed private men, and even the assertors of damned heresies, to judge in such questions;" had presumed "to give judgment concerning ecclesiastical possessions, and had restored to honours and dignity, men who were out of the communion of the church, and long ago condemned by his own edicts." Then, alluding to the emperor's alliance with the king of England, an excommunicated heretic, (which appeared to the pope little less portentous than that of the French king with the Turkish sultan,) he declared "his fears to be still further increased, when he considered who the persons were with whom he had contracted friendship." He refers him to the examples of scripture, Corah, Dathan, Abiram, Uzzah, and king Uzziah, from which he might learn "the wrath and vengeance of God against those who usurped to themselves the offices of the high priest." Many other instances in history also shewed, "that God had signally crowned with honour and blessings those princes who assisted the head of the church, and the see of Rome, and rendered that love and duty which are due to the priesthood; whereas, such as did otherwise were afflicted with most grievous punishments." "The care of the churches was, indeed, an office most acceptable to God, but it did not belong to the emperor, a civil governor, but to the priests, and specially to himself, to whom God had given the power of binding and loosing." A. D. 1544.

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He called upon him, therefore, to rescind and annul what, with too much lenity, he had granted to those rebels and enemies against the see of Rome, for that otherwise he must deal with him more severely than his custom, or his nature and inclination would lead him to do.[1]

On this and another paper, which issued from Rome, written in the same strain, Luther published severe animadversions:[2] but the emperor contented himself with a brief and general reply, couched, however, in terms which were not suited to give the protestants a favourable impression of his intentions towards them.[3]

Charles's reasons for peace with France.

This strong remonstrance of the pope, with the fear of driving him to throw himself entirely into the arms of the king of France, is thought to have had influence, in conjunction with other causes, in inducing the emperor hastily to conclude a peace, within three or four months after he had, with so much pains, and at the expence of so great concessions, prevailed upon his German subjects heartily to second him in the French war. Among these other causes the principal were, that "the Turks, almost unresisted, made such progress in Hungary, reducing town after town, that they approached near to the Austrian provinces; and, above all, the extraordinary advances of the protestant doctrines in Germany, and the dangerous combination into which the princes of that profession had entered. Almost one half of Germany had revolted from the established church; the fidelity of the rest was much shaken; the nobility of Austria had demanded of Ferdinand the free exercise of religion; the Bohemians, among

[1] Sleid. 337—340. [2] Seck. iii. 479—494.
[3] Ib. 479 and 494.

whom some seeds of the doctrines of Huss still remained, openly favoured the new opinions; the archbishop of Cologne, with a zeal which is seldom found among ecclesiastics, had begun the reformation of his diocese: nor was it possible, unless some timely and effectual check were given to the spirit of innovation, to foresee where it would end!"[1] Accordingly we shall find, that from the period of this peace with France a new line of policy, big with important events to the protestants, was adopted, and indeed that provision was made in the treaty itself for its being acted upon conjointly both by Charles and Francis. A. D. 1543.

But our attention must first be arrested by what has been before alluded to, and is here expressly brought under our notice, the zealous efforts of the archbishop of Cologne in the cause of reformation.

Herman, count de Wied, descended from an ancient and illustrious family bearing that title, had been appointed archbishop of Cologne, and in virtue of that dignity an elector of the empire, in the year 1515. He was previously bishop of Paderborn. Even Maimbourg gives him the character, before he became infected with the mania of the reformation, of "a good man, of mild manners, very charitable to the poor, and zealous for the catholic faith." The last of these virtues, it seems, he had evinced in a striking manner on taking possession of the bishopric of Paderborn; for, finding that Lutheranism had obtained some footing there, he forcibly expelled the preachers, and denounced the penalty of death against such as should continue to profess that doctrine. Maimbourg, however, Herman Abp. of Cologne.

[1] Robertson iii. 280—282.

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represents him as a weak and illiterate man; and quotes the authority of the emperor Charles V,[1] for his being ignorant of the very rudiments of the Latin tongue: and on this he ventures to ground the remark, in which, I apprehend few among the primitive Christians would have concurred with him, that it is "better for the church to be governed by a bishop of great capacity and skill in affairs, though of but moderate piety, than by a good man, who, wanting judgment, learning, and genius, is easily imposed upon—especially if he should prove one of those who aspire at celebrity by introducing reformation."[2] Seckendorf, however, observes, that the authority of Charles V. was better upon almost any other point than that of a man's learning: and we shall find the far superior testimony of Melancthon to Herman's competence, in this respect, to the work he undertook. —The same popish writer also ascribes to the archbishop's care to exclude Lutheranism, what other authors attribute to a sincere, though, as yet, not very enlightened desire of reformation. In the year 1536, says Sleidan, "Herman archbishop of Cologne, who had long since projected a reformation of the church, held a provincial council, at the desire of his people, and, according to custom, summoned all the bishops belonging to his jurisdiction, namely those of Liege, Utrecht, Munster, Osnaburg, and Minden. This council made several canons concerning doctrine and ceremonies, which were afterwards compiled into a book by John Gropper, professor of the canon law," and archdeacon

[1] Sleid. 369, 370.

[2] The sentiment seems to be borrowed from Pallavicini. See Milner v. 106. (686.)

of Cologne,[1] and published under the archbishop's sanction. Gropper is the same person whom the emperor afterwards nominated, in conjunction with Eccius and Pflug, to confer with Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius, at Ratisbon: and he must be considered as a prime mover in all that took place, on the part of the clergy, at Cologne.[2] Maimbourg's judgment of the canons of this provincial council is, that they were most admirably adapted "for the preservation of pure religion, good discipline, and correct manners." Sleidan says, and we shall find Melancthon fully concurring with him, that they "palliated almost all the popish tenets, and coloured them with new interpretations,[3] A. D. 1543.

This was a remedy little adapted to the exigencies of the diocese of Cologne, which by the testimony of the archbishop himself (and he appeals for confirmation to the notoriety of the fact, and the consciousness of the very clergy who opposed him,) was in a deplorable state of ignorance, superstition, and vice. "Our churches," he says, "are destitute of pious and learned ministers: those who ought to teach others are themselves unacquainted with the decalogue, the Lord's prayer, and the articles of the Christian faith, and are scandalous in their State of his Province.

[1] Maimbourg.

[2] "Tandem tam masculè locutus est, et ita animavit totum clerum Coloniensem, ut celebre illud capitulum fortissime contra archiepiscopum ageret, &c." Maimb. in Seck. iii. § 27.

[3] Sleid. 209.—Seckendorf compares them to the palliating attempts made in his own time by Bossuet, in his Exposition, and Dezius, "a Jesuit of Strasburg, who wrote a book expressly to prove that there was little or no difference between the doctrine of the Council of Trent and that of the Confession of Augsburg." (Mosheim iv. 303, 304.)—Seck. iii. 137, 138, 435.

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lives; so that true scriptural doctrine is no where taught amongst us, but its place is usurped by idle fables and mere human opinions; whence a dreadful ignorance of God, ruinous superstition and infidelity, and crying sins prevail."[1] With this representation Melancthon's account, when he visited the country, too faithfully agrees. "Scarcely in any other part of Germany," he says, "can I think that such barbarous and heathenish superstition is to be found."[2] And again, answering the clergy themselves: "The greatest part of those who occupy the higher offices in the church teach not at all. In many places pastors are altogether wanting, while the canons enjoy the salaries, and do nothing for them in return. Wandering monks undertake to teach, who are either ignorant of the gospel themselves, or from interested motives confirm the people in idolatry. Your very churches, filled with a variety of statues, shew the state of religion among you. Here S. Ann is worshipped, there S. Mary, and there S. Servatius,—who wears a purse about his neck, because he is thought to preserve the money of those who honour him. In short, images abound on every side, to which the people flock in crowds, and think this to be religion; while concerning true prayer to God, concerning Christ, and the real duties of piety, and the right discipline of the church, a profound silence reigns."[3]

Measures adopted for Reformation there.

Accordingly the book, which had been published after the synod of 1536, gave no satisfaction, and the archbishop himself, in proportion as his light increased, grew displeased with

[1] In Seck. iii. 442 (ee), 443 (2).
[2] Ep. i. 74. iv. 298.
[3] Pezelii Consil. Melanc. i. 570.

it. Hence we find him, three years afterwards, sending a confidential person to Melancthon to confer with him, and invite him to visit the archbishop that they might consult together concerning further reformation. Melancthon wrote to him commending his design, and suggesting important advice, but he did not visit Cologne till some years after this time. Alluding to the book which Gropper had drawn up, he says, "There is nothing so monstrous, that it may not be made to appear plausible by dextrous management, and the magic touch of a skilful sophister." [1] A. D. 1543. 1539.

After the conferences at Ratisbon, it appears, Gropper mightily commended Bucer to the archbishop, as "of all men the fittest to be intrusted with the reformation of religion, as he was both very learned, a lover of peace, and of good and upright life:" on which the archbishop, who had some previous knowledge of him, sent for him to Cologne, where he was "most courteously received, particularly by Gropper; and, on parting with him, the archbishop made him promise to return when he should again send for him." [2] Maimbourg would fain account for this part of Gropper's conduct, by saying, that Bucer was so wrought upon by the arguments of Gropper at Ratisbon, as to give him hopes of his returning to the catholic church. But there appears to be no foundation for this assertion: on the contrary Bucer, in letters to the landgrave, declared, that Gropper either sincerely assented to the evangelical doctrine, or with 1541.

[1] Epist. iii. 38. "Nihil tam absurdum est, quod non possit effici concinnius, si callidi artifices adhibeant sua pigmenta, seu, ut Euripides vocat, σοφὰ φάρμακα." I have here given the sense, rather than a close translation.

[2] Sleid. 288, 289.

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solemn asseverations pretended it; whence he was not without hopes of his conversion; though, on the other hand, he had his fears, that the avarice of the man, which led him to grasp at one piece of preferment after another, might tempt him to disown the truth of which he was convinced. [1]

1541. The recess of Ratisbon (in which the pope's legate had concurred,) having enjoined on all prelates to promote "a holy reformation in their several provinces and dioceses"—which, however, was afterwards explained to mean a reformation of manners only, and not of doctrines or ceremonies,—the archbishop availed himself of it, and called a convention of his states, which consisted of the clergy of the cathedral church, the nobles, and the deputies of cities, to take into consideration the complying with this authoritative recommendation. It was resolved that the work should be proceeded in: and the archbishop appointed persons to draw up a scheme of reformation, and to select able and faithful ministers to occupy the churches. When the plan was prepared, he sent it to the clergy of Cologne, desiring their judgment upon it, according to the sacred scriptures: but they shewed no disposition to comply with his demand. After a sufficient time therefore had elapsed, and nothing was to be expected from them, he again sent for Bucer, who came in December 1542, and was appointed by him to preach at Bonn, the seat of the archiepiscopal residence. He soon after called another convention of the states: but the clergy sent no deputies to it: the other orders, however, encouraged him to proceed, with the assistance

[1] Seck. iii. 437 (9), 560 (e).

of such persons as he might think proper to select. Accordingly, having solicited the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse to send to him for a time Melancthon and Pistorius, he associated them with Bucer; and thus employed those very divines, whom the emperor had selected as the protestant collocutors at Ratisbon, to prepare his formulary of doctrine, of ceremonies, and of discipline. A. D. 1543. 1543. Jan. 15.

We may here observe, that, even before the elector and the landgrave received his application, those princes, on the suggestion of Bucer, that they would do well to strengthen the hands of "an old man who was tremulous and hesitating in his proceedings,"[1] had written to the archbishop a letter, his answer to which indicated the piety that appears to have governed his whole conduct. He thanked them for this token of their kindness, and for their offers of assistance, and declared that he "sought not himself in what he did, but the glory of God, and the salvation of his neighbour."[2]

Melancthon gives the following account of the proceedings after the book of reformation was drawn up. "The aged prelate ordered the whole book to be read over to him in the presence of his coadjutor (Schaumburg), count Stolberg the dean, several other principal persons, and myself. He listened to it with the closest attention, and discoursed much, in a serious and forcible manner, on many parts of it: some he, with good reason, altered according to his own judgment, and on others, after discussion, he preferred our opinion to his own. To this employment he devoted six days, spending in it

[1] The Archbishop was at this time seventy years of age.
[2] Seck. iii. 436 (3).

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four successive hours every morning. I could not but admire the assiduity of the venerable old man; and I was struck with the seriousness with which he conducted the whole business;—and of how much consequence that is, I need not tell you. He is become quite an acute judge in these controversies."[1]

When he had thus carefully examined the book himself, he sent it to the clergy of Cologne, determined to be wanting in no attention to them; and then laid it before a convention of the states, desiring each order to appoint persons to consult together, and give their judgment upon it. The clergy, however, led by the canons of the cathedral church, (high-spirited men, all of them of noble families,) insisted that Bucer and the other preachers, whom the people flocked to hear,[2] should be in the first instance dismissed, and desired time to be allowed them to examine the book, though they would not join the other orders in deliberating upon it. With the first of these demands the archbishop refused to comply, unless they could prove any thing against the persons whom they wished to be removed: in the second he indulged them, though he saw their design. Accordingly the course they took was, to publish, in opposition to the archbishop's book, a work entitled *Antididagma*, in the preface to which, "after a great deal of railing against the Lutherans, they professed in plain terms, that they would rather live under the Turk, than under a magistrate who would embrace and defend that reformation."[3]

1543. June.

Opposition made to it.

This work likewise is ascribed to Gropper,

[1] Melanc. Epist. iv. 304. See also i. 74; iii. 76; iv. 298.
[2] Ib. i. 74.
[3] Sleid. 310, 311.

both by Sleidan and Maimbourg. Another book also was published about the same time, in the name of "the secondary clergy of Cologne," professedly against Bucer, but in reality against the reformation at large. It was answered both by Bucer and Melancthon.[1] They speak of "a pampered Carmelite monk, a votary of Bacchus and Venus, and one more conversant in the loose comedies of Plautus than in the holy scriptures," having been employed to draw it up:[2] and such was the nature of its contents in certain parts, that Melancthon seriously charges those who sanctioned its publication with having sent into the world a book calculated to debauch the minds of youth.[3] A. D. 1543.

While these things were going on, the archbishop attended in person the diet of Spires, and there expressed his sentiments with great freedom. "Reformation," he said, "was a duty incumbent not only upon ecclesiastical but upon civil rulers, and both one and the other sinned grievously if they postponed it even for an hour. For his own part, he was determined to go forward in the course on which he had entered; and he thought it a general rule, that, if the bishops would not do it, the princes ought to take the lead in this cause of indispensable necessity."[4] 1541.

[1] Seck. iii. 438—441. Melanc. Op. ii. 93. &c. or Pezelii Consil. Melanc. i. 538, &c.

[2] Melanc. Ep. iii. 75. Seck. iii. 560 (d). Everard Billicus was the person intended.

[3] The authors of this work roundly ascribe "to the Lutheran heresy the rustic war and the other commotions of Germany, the sweating sickness of England, and other epidemic diseases, the irruption of Turks, with the disasters which followed:" nay they say it was so evidently the cause of all these evils, that they must be "blind who will not see it." Seck. iii. 439 (i).

[4] Ib. iii. 474.

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The next step which his refractory clergy took, was to threaten him with an appeal to the pope and the emperor. They accordingly drew one up, containing heavy charges against the archbishop, as subverting the established order of the church, and forcing upon his clergy and people the doctrines and practices of the Lutheran heresy, and moreover as "introducing every where lewd and profligate wretches under the character of teachers of religion." Having made him acquainted with this appeal, and received his answer, that he "had done nothing but what was his duty, and that he was determined to proceed in those things which concerned the glory of God and the reformation of the church;" they formally signed and transmitted their appeal, procuring the bishops of Liege and Utrecht, and the university of Louvain to concur with them in it, and excluding from the right of voting, as accused persons, such of their own number as disagreed with them.[1]

The archives of Weimar here supply some additional and interesting particulars, not recorded by Sleidan, whom we have hitherto principally followed in this account. It appears that about the close of the year 1544, probably after the appeals were transmitted, but before they were formally received, the canons of Cologne, at the suggestion of the pope and the emperor, sent a deputation to Herman, again urging him to abandon his designs, and, in case he refused to do so, to renounce their allegiance to him. He promptly told them, that it was "not in their power to release themselves from the obligation of their oaths, and that the

1 Sleid. 340, 341, 374.

pretence to do so was a matter of very ill example." For the rest, after taking time to advise with his counsellors, he answered, "That he had not hitherto acted without consideration, or from levity of mind, but that for more than fifteen years past he had been deliberating with his friends on the means of correcting the abuses of the church, and particularly the intolerable corruptions of the court of Rome: that he had hoped that the pope or the emperor, moved by the complaints of such multitudes of persons aggrieved by these evils, would have found some remedy for them, either by a council or through the diet; but that this had hitherto been prevented by the artifices of Rome herself: that, being now grown an old man, who had need to care seriously for the peace of his conscience and the salvation of his soul, he had diligently applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures and other pious writings, and had had recourse to the counsels of learned men; and that he had thus become convinced, by the clearest evidence from the word of God, that that doctrine, which in all the successive diets the pope and others had vehemently opposed, was indeed pure, pious, apostolic, and divine truth: that he could not recede from it and from the word of God, but would steadfastly persist in his purpose, though it should be at the risk of his possessions, his dignities, and his life itself; for that he felt his own eternal salvation, and that of multitudes beside, to be at stake in the present cause: that in all external and civil affairs, not contrary to the express will of God, the emperor should find him most dutiful and compliant: that he felt a confidence of obtaining a testimony from all persons, that in the station assigned him by providence he had, during so

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long a term of years, conducted himself in such a manner that no one had just cause of complaint against him." He further affirmed, that, "in prosecuting his plan of reformation, he had brought no burden of expence upon the archiepiscopal revenues, but had supported twelve or fifteen preachers in his province at his own charge, and chiefly from his private patrimony, without their receiving any stipend from the funds of the church: and, if for what he had done in this most righteous, religious, and truly honourable cause, he was now, in his extreme old age, to be still infested as he had hitherto been by the opposition of his canons, and should thus eventually, either by force or fraud, be despoiled of his office and dignity—he left that to God, the supreme and righteous judge; nor would it be at all grievous to him if, as he had been born, so he should die, simply count of Wied: his family would receive and support him for his remaining days: but he would testify by public writings, both his own and those of the learned men with whom he had advised, that he had avowed and defended pure doctrine, as his solemn engagements bound him to do; and that he had most anxiously desired, that his provinces might be rescued from the complicated idolatry in which they were involved, and receive the right knowledge of Jesus Christ."[1]

Herman summoned before the Emperor and the Pope; June.

Still, however, the archbishop continued to be harassed by addresses from the pope, the other archbishops of Germany, the doctors of Louvain, and the emperor's ministers. At length, in the diet of Worms, held in the year 1545, where Gropper appeared and heavily ac-

[1] Seck. iii. 553.

cused the archbishop,[1] the emperor received the appeal against him; took the canons of Cologne under his protection, forbidding any one, under pain of proscription, to molest them in their religion, their revenues, or their rights; commanded them to proceed against the professors of the protestant faith; and cited Herman himself to appear before him within thirty days, either personally or by his proctor, to answer the charges laid against him. This was immediately followed by a similar citation from the pope requiring Herman, with the dean of Cologne, and five others of the canons, who, says Sleidan, "loved the archbishop, and disapproved the deed of the rest," to appear, in like manner, at Rome within sixty days, to give account of their conduct before the tribunal of his Holiness.[2]

A. D. 1543.

July.

To the former of these citations Herman answered, by sending his proctor to the emperor at Brussels, though by his electoral privileges he was not obliged to make any appearance out of the limits of the empire.[3] It seems also that the emperor, in his way from Worms, saw him personally, and significantly reminded him that "his archiepiscopal dignity depended on the will of the pope, and from it that of elector was inseparable." Herman, however, was still firm, and insisted upon it that he had done no more than his duty required; and even declared that, "as great numbers of his people had heard with profit the preachers whom he had introduced, he could not in conscience remove them.[4]

To the citation of the pope it does not appear that he made any answer at all; while the clergy vigorously prosecuted their appeal. In conse-

deprived and excommunicated.

[1] Seck. iii. 554.
[2] Sleid. 351: Seck. iii. 554.
[3] Sleid. 352.
[4] Seck. iii. 554.

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quence, on the sixteenth of April 1546, the pope pronounced sentence of deprivation and excommunication against him; released his subjects from their allegiance, and discharged their yielding him any obedience in future. He at the same time appointed Adolphus count Schaumburg, his successor—a person whom the archbishop had long before made his coadjutor, and who had been "always as dear to him as a brother."[1]—The emperor was called upon to see this decree carried into effect: but, as his schemes against the protestants were not yet fully ripe for execution, and the archbishop refused to surrender his office, alleging that he "could not do it with a safe conscience," it slept for some little time longer. But in January 1547, the emperor having obtained great advantages over the protestants, and being prepared to execute the decree by force of arms, Herman, in order to save his country from being made the scene of war and bloodshed, consented to resign, (though most of his states, except the clergy, seemed ready to support him,) and Schaumburg on the twenty fifth of that month took possession of his place and dignity.[2]—Thus had Herman the honour of being the first sovereign prince in Germany, (though not the last,) that lost his dignities and dominions in the cause of the blessed reformation; and Charles gave the first specimen of the use he would make of that unlimited power at which he aspired, in deposing a venerable old man, who twenty-seven years before had been one of those who raised him to the imperial throne!

Jan. 25.

[1] Sleid. 374. [2] Sleid. 417, 418. Seck. iii. 448.

A. D. 1543.

His exemplary conduct and death.

The deprived archbishop retired to his native country, where he lived in privacy between five and six years. He died on the thirteenth of August 1552, having attained the age of eighty years—"obstinate in his heresy" to the last, says Maimbourg: but Sleidan's account will doubtless be thought by the reader less prejudiced, as well as more pleasing. "He had such an end," says that faithful historian, "as he desired; for many times he had wished, that he might either be permitted to propagate the gospel, and reform the church within his territories, or else to lead a private life: and, being sometimes admonished by his friends, that he drew upon himself great hatred and ill-will by changing his religion, he used to answer, That nothing could take him by surprise, for he had long since made up his mind for all events."[1]

Gladly should I have been enabled to present my readers with a more particular view of the interior work of divine grace upon this good man's heart: but the means of so doing are not afforded. No one, however, can doubt the reality of that work, of which such powerful effects appeared. The mighty change which had taken place in him, since he was a persecutor at Paderborn, may even remind us of that which converted Saul of Tarsus into an apostle of the faith "which once he destroyed." His meekness is confessed even by his enemies:[2] his humility and piety have been in many instances conspicuous, and in none more so than in the manner in which he bore adversity; and the spectacle of an old man, whose constitutional failing, had perhaps been timidity,[3] raised to all the vigour, the exertion, and the resolu-

[1] Sleid. 543. [2] Maimbourg.
[3] Seck. iii. 436 (3), 437 (7, 8), 447 (a), 448 (d).

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tion, which we have witnessed,—prepared to brave all dangers, and to make the most costly sacrifices in the cause of truth and duty,—is delightful to contemplate, and shews how divine grace can change and exalt the human character.

Herman had declined on various accounts to join the league of Smalkald; yet so much were the confederates attached to him, that they repeatedly interposed in his behalf; and they finally determined to support him, had they been able to stand themselves.[1]

Among the persons deprived with him were count Stolberg the dean, and Herman's own brother Frederick, who had for ten years held the bishopric of Munster, but resigned it in 1532, because he could not there carry things according to his conscience.[2] He at this time held the provostship of Bonn, which Gropper obtained in addition to his other benefices, in reward of the part he had acted.[3]

Under the administration of the new archbishop, the reformation which had been intro-

[1] Seck. iii. 554 (c, f), 615. [2] Ib. 435.

[3] Gropper is a great favourite with Maimbourg, who pronounces a long and elaborate panegyric upon him. Among other topics of eulogy he gravely introduces the following, as presenting a striking contrast to the "unhallowed" marriages allowed among the Lutheran clergy. "The sanctity of Gropper's life entitled him to higher praise than even the profoundness of his learning. Every species of Christian virtue shone forth in him. In particular, so delicate, or even, if such a term may be used, so scrupulous was his modesty, that when once, in the absence of his servant, and while he himself was attending morning prayers, a woman had presumed to make his bed, he not only, on his return, quickly drove her out of his room, but threw the sheets, bed, and bedding, altogether, out of the window into the street, as if his bed, having been touched by a female, had been infected with the plague." Maimb. in Seck. iii. 434.

duced was wholly set aside; the preachers expelled; and all that excessive superstition of which Melancthon had complained, and which gave to Cologne the appellation of "the Rome of Germany," was restored.[1] A. D. 1543.

Herman's Book of Reformation.

Of a scheme of doctrine and worship drawn up by Bucer and Melancthon for the archbishop of Cologne, it can hardly be necessary, at this period of our progress, to speak particularly; yet some notice deserves to be taken of it. Its very title declares it to be adopted only "till the Lord grant a better reformation to be appointed, either by a free and Christian council, general or national, or by the states of the empire of the nation of Germany, gathered together in the Holy Ghost." It opens with an epistle by the archbishop, in which, after adverting to the ignorance and corruption that prevailed, to the hopes of reformation that had been entertained and disappointed, and particularly to the late decree of Ratisbon, and the applications that had been made to him by the states of his dominion, he says: "It seemed that we ought to make no longer delay.... and chiefly in this our extreme old age, which surely warneth us that we must shortly come before the judgment seat of Christ, where we know that we must give account of that office enjoined unto us." Further: "Though I be their *unworthy* bishop, yet I was lawfully made both archbishop, and curate of souls, and set not forth this form and manner of a reformation as though nothing could be amended and changed in it, or as though others ought in any wise to follow it. Through the grace of God, we acknowledge the weakness of our faith, and the slenderness of

[1] Seck. iii. 447, 448. Sleid. 418.

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our judgment in these matters of so great difficulty, concerning the heavenly kingdom of our Lord Jesu Christ, and our salvation: .... yet it should not have become us, which profess the name of Christ, and exercise the office of a bishop (though we grant we do not satisfy in both, [either,]) to doubt of the grace and gift of God, our most merciful heavenly Father, as though he might not be moved with our prayers, and the godly prayers of our men, (people,) to give us mercifully his Holy Spirit.... Wherefore, attributing nothing either to our wisdom, or to the wisdom and doctrine (learning) of others, but only encouraged and trusting in the true grace and sure promise of God the Father, and in the merit and strength of our Lord Jesus Christ .... we have determined to set forth, according to our simplicity, these things, thus gathered after diligent deliberation ... for some reformation of Christian discipline.... Therefore we beseech all Christian men, of what condition soever they be, which shall read or hear this our preparation of a reformation ... if they shall find any thing in it that shall not seem to be agreeable to God's word ... that they will certify us thereof, and gently teach us out of the holy scriptures. We will take the same by God's grace in good part."—He concludes with earnestly desiring the prayers of all that "with sincere heart wish the amplification of Christ's kingdom."

Of the work itself I shall attempt no regular analysis. It commences with establishing the exclusive authority of holy scripture; (to which the fathers themselves appealed for whatever they advanced;) goes over all the main points of doctrine, and duty; addresses excellent directions to ministers; prescribes rules for

A. D. 1548.

divine worship, for the administration of discipline, and for the establishment and conducting of schools; and in short seems to leave no necessary subject untouched.—On the interpretation of the divine law, and its uses in subserviency to the gospel; on repentance and its connexion with faith in Christ; and other topics allied to these, it treats admirably. On justification, as might be expected, it is clear and forcible, but it dispenses with the use of the terms *imputation*, and *faith* ALONE; yet retaining, as Seckendorf observes, the ideas conveyed by them.[1]—It is not, however, to be dissembled, that the work gave not entire satisfaction to some of the best friends of its compilers. The archbishop was anxious to retain as much of the ancient ceremonies, or to come as near to them, as could lawfully be done; and the elector of Saxony, with Pontanus and some others, thought that Bucer and Melancthon had been a little too yielding in their mode of stating some points of doctrine.[2] Luther was so much displeased with the article on the eucharist, (which we should think the more to be approved from its not meeting his peculiar views,) that he frankly confesses it would take some time to bring him to look dispassionately upon the whole: yet, with greater forbearance than he was accustomed to exercise, he attributed this exclusively to Bucer, rejoiced in what had been effected, and thanked God on the archbishop's account.[3]

[1] An abstract of the work is given by Seckendorf, iii. 443—447: but the whole was translated into English, and "imprinted at London, by John Daye and William Seres," in the year 1548; and it is from a copy of that edition that I have given my extracts from the archbishop's introductory epistle.

[2] Seck. iii. 437 (8). But compare 447 (a).

[3] Ib. iii. 448 (d), 554 (f).

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All this at least proves the moderation of the archbishop, and that he gave no advantage to his adversaries by any apparent excess in his proceedings: yet, as Seckendorf observes, the event shews the futility of all attempts to conciliate, by any temporizing measures, where evils of so great magnitude are to be corrected.[1]

The Bishop of Munster.

The history of the bishop of Munster is a counterpart of that of the archbishop of Cologne, except that his canons shewed less virulent hostility against him, and that it seems not certain that he stood equally firm to the last. The bishopric of Munster is one of the most extensive and powerful in Germany; and, in addition to it, Francis count Waldeck, (the same who in the year 1535 subdued the anabaptists of Munster,) possessed the bishopries of Osnaburgh and Minden. Several years before, strong measures had been adopted by the senate for establishing the reformed doctrine in the *city* of Munster. The protestants, under the leading of Bernard Rotman, a preacher who afterwards became an anabaptist, and who appears never to have borne a very steady or honourable character, presented to the senate a list of the errors of popery under thirty heads, pledging themselves to support their charges against any persons that might undertake to

[1] Seck. iii. 437 (8). No one of the reformers, perhaps, was disposed to concede for the sake of conciliation so much as Bucer was; yet it is remarkable that not any one incurred greater odium among his opponents, as well as distrust among his friends. Ib. 559 (c). The divines of Cologne say of him: "Bucerus fictâ simplicitate et animo versipelli, ac si ex Judaicâ stirpe natus esset, per mille volumina sese insinuat, nocentior Luthero, et toxicum melle circumlitum propinat." Ib. 438 (e). See also Bossuet's Variations.—A bold avowal of what truth dictates, and duty requires, is, it appears, the way to respect, as well as to success.

refute them. The senate called upon the clergy to maintain their tenets against the innovators, and, on their failing to do so, required them to resign their pulpits to the new teachers. The clergy retired from the city in disgust, and in concert with their bishop commenced some hostile proceedings against the senate and citizens. These differences, however, were composed by a treaty, in which the landgrave of Hesse, as well as the bishop of Munster, took a part, and by which six churches in the city were ceded to the protestants, and their antagonists left in undisturbed possession of the cathedral.[1] A. D. 1543. 1533. Feb. 14.

Even at that time the bishop appears not to have been indisposed to reformation; but the phrensy of the anabaptists under John of Leyden and other leaders succeeded, and threw all things into confusion. In the year 1544, after having for some time connived at the preaching of the evangelical doctrine in the principal cities under his jurisdiction, Francis openly recommended reformation to the assembly of his states. The chapters of canons opposed him, acting in concert with those of Cologne, and avowing their determination to adhere to an imperial mandate which they had received, enjoining them to withstand all innovations. The bishop, however, alleged the decree of Ratisbon, and said that "it was incumbent upon him, both in pursuance of that decree, and by his rights and duties as a prince, to see that the people of his province were instructed in Christian truth and duty by competent preachers. He felt the necessity of having pastors who should explain to the people the doctrine of repentance and remission of sins, and teach them to observe all 1544. His Reformation.

[1] Sleid. 190—192.

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things that Christ had commanded: for that he had found, with great pain, that just notions of repentance scarcely existed among them; and that they were so ill informed as to seek the divine favour through the medium of images, relics, and ceremonies which they did not understand, while faith in Christ (with which contrition for sin, charity, and good works were inseparably connected,) was utterly disregarded. The sacraments, moreover, which ought to be administered and received with that just understanding of their nature and design, with that faith and devotion, that men might by means of them be really united to Christ, and strengthened in faith more and more, were irreverently and shamefully abused; while the basest simony and grasping at gain were every where practised. In other rites and ceremonies of the church also, in the singing and the prayers, which ought all to be conducted to the instruction and edification of the people, the clergy themselves did not understand what they sang or read: all was gone through without the heart being engaged in it, and without improvement either to themselves or others. All this was highly offensive to God, and condemned by the inspired writers. The lives of the clergy also were shamefully corrupt. By these, and other weighty causes, he said, he had been induced, in virtue of his office, to make some commencement of reformation, by the pure preaching of the word of God, and the administration of the sacraments according to their original appointment, in some parts of his territories; and he now trusted that he should have the support of his states in carrying the same into effect generally. He doubted not that he should be able to justify his proceedings to the emperor. But,

if he were disappointed in these hopes, and should have to encounter the same sort of difficulties as had fallen to the lot of prophets, apostles, and the servants of God in all ages, his states would remember the answer made to the Jewish council, *We ought to obey God rather than men:* and it would be much more tolerable for him to draw down upon himself the displeasure of men than the anger of God. In all civil matters, however, he would ever be ready to perform due service to the emperor, as he had hitherto done." A.D. 1544.

The proposals, thus piously and forcibly urged, met the approbation of all the orders except the clergy; who still expressed their determination to adhere to the emperor's directions. They would not, however, they said, now enter into dispute with their bishop; but they trusted they should still be left in possession of the cathedral church, to conduct the service and ceremonies there according to their own sentiments. The bishop replied, "That neither would he move disputes with them; that with pious and benevolent intentions he aimed at the reformation of abuses; that he should employ no force against those who declined to comply with his wishes; but neither would he depart from his purpose of introducing reformation, and the preaching of the true gospel of Christ."

Such is the account furnished to the landgrave of Hesse by the bishop's chancellor, Nicholas Meyer; who adds, that the great majority of the senate of Munster were very desirous of seeing his master's designs carried into execution, and that almost all the other towns would hail the introduction of the protestant doctrine with great delight. Faithful ministers, however, were wanting; and in that

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respect he, in his master's name, solicits assistance from the landgrave, and proposes to make similar applications to Marpurg and Wittemberg.

These were the bright prospects of the province in the year 1544. Soon after that, the pope succeeded in stirring up the emperor to take more decisive measures against the reformation: the Smalkaldic war followed, and the good designs of the bishop of Munster were frustrated. In the year 1547 he was cited to Rome by the pope, to answer the charge of defection from the catholic faith: but the canons on this occasion interposed their good offices on his behalf, urging particularly the services he had formerly rendered in the suppression of the anabaptists. Hence he is supposed to have yielded improperly to the prevailing torrent, after Charles's triumph over the protestant powers. If so, we may trust that he was "chastened of the Lord, that he might not be condemned with the world:" for he afterwards suffered in the conflicts which arose among his neighbours, and the more severely for his former close alliance with the landgrave: he was plundered of his wealth, and even lost his bishopries; and was reduced to live as an exile in his own city of Munster, dependent on the liberality of the citizens. He died July 15, 1553. Chytræus commends him as a prince of high character, distinguished for piety, wisdom, justice, and clemency.—Munster, however, is to be added to the list of those places in which the light of the reformation was extinguished again, ere it had well dawned upon the people.[1]

He is cited to Rome;

and loses his bishopric.

Reformation of

In other places, however, happier success still attended the efforts made to diffuse the

[1] Chytr. lib. xviii and xix. Seck. iii. 513, 514.

knowledge of divine truth, and to correct the abuses which prevailed. The town and adjoining district of Ruthen in Voightland,[1] the city and district of Rotenburg, and the principality of Henneberg, both in Franconia, are particularly mentioned. In the second of these places the reformation was almost universally embraced by the votaries in religious houses, as well as by other classes of the people; so that in the year 1546 no more than one monk and two aged nuns were found remaining. The zeal also of the inhabitants, and their eagerness to hear the word of God, are represented as very striking. Numbers fell on their knees in the churches, and with tears of joy thanked God for their deliverance from the superstition in which they had lived.[2]

A. D. 1544.

Ruthen,

Rotenburg,

But the account of Henneberg is attended with the most interesting and remarkable particulars. William prince of that territory had been a zealous devotee in the cause of Romish superstition; the institutor of associations and observances designed to perpetuate it; and a persecutor of those who revolted from it: and, as was to be expected, he trained up his sons, three of whom he dedicated to the sacred office, in the same principles. His eldest son and successor, however, George Ernest, attended the landgrave of Hesse to the diet of Augsburg in the year 1530: and there it pleased God that he should receive the seeds of divine truth, which gradually sprung up, and were afterwards cherished by the piety of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Eric duke of Brunswick and of Elizabeth of Brandenburg, before mentioned.[3] Poppo also, another son of William's, and a

and Henneberg.

William,

George Ernest,

and Poppo,

[1] Seck. iii. 458. [2] Ib. 514, 515. [3] Above, pp. 258, 259.

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princes of Hanneberg.

canon of Wurtzburg, disgusted with the lives of the higher popish clergy, (of which his situation had given him sufficient experience,) and impressed with the piety of his brother, became equally inclined with him to the cause of reformation: and, little as such an event might have been anticipated, they prevailed upon their father, whose mind we must suppose to have undergone a gradual but great change, not only to yield to their wishes, but heartily to concur with them. The assistance of John Forster, a pious divine of Wittemberg, was solicited and obtained; and the protestant faith was in the year 1544 publicly professed. William, as he was a late, so he proved a zealous and persevering labourer in the cause. Aided by his sons, he settled the ecclesiastical affairs of his principality in an excellent order: and so determined a spirit did he shew, that, when the protestant confederation was broken and crushed, and all men were trembling before the power of the emperor, he resolutely refused the Interim (a corrupt mixture of popery and protestantism,) prescribed by that potentate in the year 1548. He even wrote to him early in the year following, to this effect: "That he had the fullest conviction, that nothing was taught in the churches of his principality which was not clearly contained in the holy scriptures, commanded to be taught by our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and received in the primitive and apostolic church. That these things he and those connected with him embraced, and would confess in the face of the whole world, at the risque of their fortunes and their lives. That, in all other respects, he had no more anxious desire than to discharge his duty to the emperor; and that the same was earnestly incul-

cated upon his people by their pastors. He begs, therefore, that he may not be required to receive the Interim; but that what he has already established in his province may remain undisturbed. He adds, that the emperor ought to conclude, that a man, who for temporal considerations would surrender what he was convinced in his own conscience was the truth and will of God, was not likely to prove faithful to his earthly superior." Here again an open and manly avowal of principle proved to be the best policy. William remained undisturbed amid all the changes which took place: he lived to the year 1559, and then died, at the age of eighty one, in the pious and unwavering confession of the true faith of the gospel. A. D. 1544. Jan. 24.

Though William was the father of thirteen children, (seven of them sons,) yet his family became extinct with that generation. His dominions devolved partly to the elector of Saxony, and partly to the landgrave of Hesse, so that they continued, and to this day continue protestant. [1]

[1] Seck. iii. 456—458.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF CRESPY TO THE DEATH OF LUTHER, AND THE EVE OF THE SMALKALDIC WAR.

We have now arrived at the last stage of the history proposed to be comprised in the present volume: and, having here also particular accounts to offer of two eminent persons, we will place them first in order, in immediate contact with the histories of individuals which have preceded.

George prince of Anhalt.

The first of these persons is George prince of Anhalt, a name which has already repeatedly occurred in the course of our progress. This excellent man appears to have been blessed with pious and judicious parents, to whose care

His education.

of his education, though they were themselves to a considerable degree involved in the prevailing darkness and superstition, and though he lost his father at the early age of eight years, he afterwards felt himself to be deeply indebted. Of his mother, in particular, who was the granddaughter of the king of Bohemia, we shall find him taking very pleasing notice. He was born in the year 1507, and being a younger son was destined for the church. After the death of his father, he was placed under the care of George Heldus, (called from the place of his birth Forcheimius,) a learned and pious instructor

at Leipsic, who had also Joachim Camerarius and Caspar Cruciger for his scholars. Under his instruction, George laid the foundation of a degree of learning in those days very uncommon in persons of his rank in life. He subsequently applied to the study of jurisprudence, and at the age of twenty two was admitted into the council of the archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg; in which capacity, in consequence of his talents and eloquence, he was employed in much important business. Five years, however, before this time, when he had attained only the age of seventeen, he had been made provost of the cathedral church of Magdeburg; and, becoming deeply interested in the theological questions which were so much agitated, he applied himself to the study of the scriptures and the fathers; still availing himself of the suggestions of his old tutor, Heldus. In order to read the sacred writings with greater advantage, he diligently cultivated the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages; in the latter of which his proficiency is particularly praised. But of these his theological studies, and of the result of them, we must attend to the very interesting account which he himself has given us.

A. D. 1545.

1529.

It is remarkable, that he had for the guardians of his youth three of the most devoted supporters of the papal superstition, and opponents of the protestant cause, that the age produced.—Albert archbishop of Mentz, Joachim I. elector of Brandenburg, (the archbishop's brother,) and George duke of Saxony. These, of course, opposed every obstacle to his approximation to the sentiments of Luther: and it is to his correspondence with the bigoted duke of Saxony, extending from the year 1533 to 1539, that we

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are indebted for the fullest account of the progress of his religious inquiries.

His zeal for the Roman Catholic Faith.

"With good conscience," he declares, "he could say with S. Paul, that from his early youth he had felt an ardent zeal for the law of his fathers; for the ceremonies, the customs, and the doctrines in which he had been brought up. Against those principles, therefore, which were opposed to them, and tended, as he conceived, to subvert every good institution, and to introduce all sorts of evil, he had cherished the most uncompromising hostility; as many who were yet living could attest. He had thrown every obstacle in his power in the way both of the success and the advancement of those, whom he considered as in this point of view suspected persons; and in accomplishing this he felt an unfeigned pleasure, as doing God service. But all the time he was acting only upon hearsay and ex parte evidence: for he avoided, with a degree of horror, the reading of books which he understood to be surcharged with poison. He began, however, to reflect, that, as a member of the church and of the ecclesiastical order, it behoved him to employ himself in a more efficient manner in opposing the dangerous efforts of those who were enemies to both. He determined, therefore, to lay aside for a time more amusing and more lucrative studies, and as far as his indispensable engagements would permit, (for from his youth up he had never been idle,) to apply himself to the study of the scriptures and of ancient ecclesiastical writers, whom, he was confidently persuaded, he should find interpreting the scriptures in a widely different manner from the modern innovators. Accordingly he had recourse to the doctors and the canons of the church, with

His study of the Scriptures and the Fathers.

no other view than that of triumphantly exposing the errors of the new teachers, for the conviction of some whom he esteemed, but who had been misled, and for the confirmation of others in their obedience and attachment to the catholic church. But, he exclaims, 'O God, what shall I say? When I examined on all sides and in all parts the writings of the approved doctors, and the ancient canons, I could no where find that interpretation, and those traditions which I sought, and of which I had boasted; nor, when I applied to persons who had the authority of the fathers constantly in their mouths, could they point out any thing of the kind to me! On the contrary I discovered, not only that numberless practical abuses, repugnant to the scriptures and the determinations of the fathers, were defended among us, but that we had departed widely indeed from the pure Christian doctrine. I saw that many articles taught by the fathers, and sanctioned by councils, were now restored and brought to light again, after a long oblivion, by those very teachers, whom we were denouncing as heretics: and that the reasonings, by which our doctors now opposed them, were precisely those of the ancient heretics upon similar questions, which the fathers of the church had refuted and rejected. However this was to be accounted for, I saw that it might be demonstrated from these writings, and especially from those of Augustine against the Pelagians, that, in the principal points now in controversy, the sentiments of our writers differed little from the dogmas of the heretics; as, for instance, on the article of justification, on the cause of salvation, on free will, human merits, the grace of God and the remission of

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sins, faith, good works, and other topics connected with them. In these I clearly perceived that many things, which Augustine maintained in opposition to those heretics, are now condemned by the monks and their adherents; while those very fundamental principles of the heretical doctrines are asserted, which Augustine most zealously opposed.—But Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, ever kept alive in my heart that spark of divine light, kindled by himself, which led me to acknowledge that our salvation is by his grace, and not for our merits. I also frequently recalled to mind the discourse on the subject of salvation, which, with great pleasure, I had heard from my dear uncle, the bishop Adolphus,[1] a little before his death. A licensed preacher having said much of human merits, and extolled them highly, the good bishop severely reproved him, citing the words of the psalmist, *In thy sight shall no man living be justified.* Thrice he repeated and urged the exclusive terms, *no man—no man living.* And he himself at length departed this life in peace, in this very confidence in the divine mercy, and not in any merits of his own.—In like manner, I remembered that my much loved mother held fast this article with an unwavering faith; of which I not only have the testimony in her own hand-writing, but I could myself give evidence to the fact, from having been present with her to the time that she drew her last breath.

"The consequence of all this was, that, when I found that the persons on whom I had unduly relied, and who hesitated not to pass off all their own notions as the decisions of the church,

[1] Bishop of Mersburg.

had erred so widely from the truth of the scriptures, the sentiments of the fathers, and the determinations of the holy catholic church in this article, which is the very basis of all Christian doctrine, I was not a little disturbed and terrified.'"—He then goes on to state some further considerations which shook his confidence in these teachers, particularly their making so light of the holy scriptures. But yet, he confesses, he was strongly prejudiced against the Lutherans, from the persuasion that their doctrine was subversive of all good works and good order, and from the number of sects to which they seemed to give occasion. He calls God to witness, how many sleepless nights he had passed, and what anguish he had suffered, while his mind was held in suspense. Still, however, he adhered to his principle, that our dependence must be upon grace, and not on our own merits: other points he was willing to refer to the decision of a council.—This was about the period of the diet of Augsburg. But, when he had read the confession of the protestants there presented, and saw that the representations which had been made to him of their religion did not correspond with it, he thought that they must have corrected some of their errors, and be meditating a return to the church. At the same time he was much pleased with what he found taught in the confession, from S. Augustine, concerning free will and some other points. When afterwards he had read the apology for the confession, and had seen the decree of Augsburg, in which all the old abuses were sanctioned, and the errors of the various sects confounded with the doctrine of the protestants, and the whole condemned together, he became more and more

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1530.

Effect of the Confession of Augsburg on his mind;

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and of the writings of Luther.

convinced that the course adopted was unjustifiable.[1]—He now had recourse to the writings of Luther; and he found that that reformer had only met with the same treatment that the ancient prophets had done, who always had the assertors of human merits for their enemies. He does not deny that he was offended at the harshness and acerbity of Luther's manner of writing; yet he could not but admit the truth of his sentiments. He also called to mind another observation of his mother's, That she was surprised that the teachers, to whom she had been accustomed, spoke in no such impressive manner concerning the grace of Christ as the new preachers did: she confessed that she had become better instructed upon this subject from the writings of the latter than she had before been, and she hoped that the

[1] Scultetus says of him, "When the controversies were raised about religion, though he concurred in many pious sentiments of the reformers, yet he would not hastily pronounce on their doctrine at large, but implored, with ardent prayers, that his mind might submissively receive the truth; often with tears repeating the words, *Deal with thy servant according to thy mercy, and teach me thy righteousness!*"—The same faithful annalist speaks, in the strongest terms, of the high veneration which George's exemplary life and conversation procured him. He has also preserved a long and curious letter written by the bigoted Cochlæus, warning George against the danger, to which he seemed to be exposed, of listening to the Lutherans; pointing out the consequences which must follow, not only to the prejudice of his soul's salvation, but to the hinderance of his advancement in the church; and finally telling him, that, if he listened to the suggestions of heretics rather than to this admonition, he might expect it to be denounced to him, as it had been to the idolatrous king of Israel, "Because thou hast sent to inquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, as if there were no God in Israel, therefore thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die."—Scult. 178, 184—186.

former would be brought to teach in the same manner, in this respect.—It was a stumbling block indeed to him, that so complete a reformation of manners did not follow, as he should have hoped: but then he clearly saw that this was not the fault either of the teachers or of the instruction given. With respect to the sects that arose after Luther's reformation, he reflected, that Luther could not be answerable for all which rash and heady spirits among his followers might advance: that the reformer had opposed such persons to the utmost of his ability: that it had been the reproach cast upon Christianity itself in the early ages, that it caused divisions and disturbances: that the boasted harmony, prior to the reformation, either did not exist, (for the discords of the monks had produced many tragic scenes,) or it was founded in ignorance and the toleration of all sorts of abuses; in short, it amounted only to this, that Satan had universal possession and *his goods were in peace*.—As to the argument from the necessity of obeying the church, he considered, that the church was the spouse of Christ, and had not authority to enjoin any thing but from the word of her Lord; and therefore that due obedience was not violated by resistance to abuses. Nor was he moved by the reasoning, that, if those were indeed errors which Luther assailed, then God must have deserted his church for ages past: for he perceived that, notwithstanding these errors and evils, God had still had a church, and persons who were members of it, as in the corrupt times of Israel: that he had, indeed, by a righteous but inscrutable judgment, for the punishment of the people's sins, permitted great darkness and corruption to prevail; but

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that they might expect still worse things to come upon them, if they should now shut their eyes against the light which had visited them. He reprobates the rejection of the truth, from mere prejudice against the person of Luther: nor would he, he says, allow himself to be influenced by the consideration, that the professors of the new doctrine might subject themselves to the loss of rank and wealth; for that things of that kind were not promised to Christians, and ought not to be desired by them: and, with respect to the hatred of men, he remembered the apostle's saying, *If I were a man-pleaser, I should not be the servant of Jesus Christ.* He trusts in God, however, to make *even his enemies to be at peace with him.*"[1]

At the close of his correspondence with George of Saxony, he observes, that "he would not further harass a person who was now grown old, was one to whom he owed obligations, and whom on many accounts he highly respected; but that daily, as often as he repeated the words of the Lord's prayer, *Thy will be done*, he prayed and would not cease to pray for him."[2]—This was in the year 1538, only one year before the death of George.

The careful consideration of the statements now before us cannot but be both impressive and useful. Not only do they evince the integrity of George's mind; they shew also what would be the result of a candid examination to many others besides Roman catholics, who now proceed very confidently under the influence of early prejudices, or in blind reliance upon what they esteem great authorities.

His letters

In the year 1541, at the time of the diet of

[1] Seck. iii. 507, 508. [2] Ib. 510.

Ratisbon, when hopes were entertained of an amicable arrangement between the contending parties, George addressed a letter to the emperor, containing a modest and respectful defence of the confession of Augsburg. He entreated him not to lend an ear to the many charges brought against the protestants, but to examine the facts for himself. He urged his own case and that of his brothers: the most odious representations had been made to them, as if good works were decried, all good regulations subverted, and the floodgates of iniquity thrown open by the new doctrine. They had accordingly resisted it as impious, with all their might. But those who so represented it had created a distrust in their minds, by dissuading them from reading the scriptures, and examining into the grounds of things for themselves: and the princes had afterwards discovered, that the representations of these persons were grossly false; and they felt it to be their duty, to give their subjects the benefit of the discoveries thus made. He entreats the emperor, therefore, if he could not yet think the protestants right, that he would still preserve the peace, and not suffer any one to be injured for adherence to the confession." When informed that the emperor had received and read his letter, he wrote again in acknowledgment, and sent him two tracts, one of them a protestant catechism, ("no doubt, Luther's")—begging him not so much to inquire "who wrote them, as what they contained." [1]

A. D. 1545. to the Emperor.

Two years afterwards he endeavoured to influence the mind of his kinsman and former guardian, the archbishop of Mentz, in a similar

and to the Archbishop of Mentz. 1543.

[1] Seck. iii. 504.

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manner, and to induce him to suggest healing counsels to the emperor. He beseeches him to regard "the truth and eternal life" alone, in this important case, and not to lend himself to the designs of the pope. "If only," he says, "recourse could be had to the sure ground of scripture, instead of to human opinions, then, waving all unnecessary and doubtful points, we might speedily have peace established in Germany, and throughout the Christian world." He conjures him to embrace and support whatever he was convinced was true and right, that he might never incur the sentence denounced against the servant who *knew his Lord's will, and did it not.*"[1] Never was more appropriate advice given: for there seems no reason to doubt, that the archbishop had convictions in favour of the reformation, and shewed himself, till after the diet of Augsburg, less averse to it than many others; though afterwards Luther considered him as a principal author of the hostile measures adopted against it.[2]

His proposals of reformation at Magdeburg. 1542.

Some months before this address to the archbishop, he had submitted to the chapter of Magdeburg, to which he belonged, a plan of reformation. He appeals to their deeds of foundation, "written in letters of gold, and splendidly ornamented," as declaring the end of their institution to be "the study and promotion of sound learning," in which the study of the holy scriptures and theological learning

[1] Seck. iii. 504.

[2] "Duo tantum sunt principes qui afficiuntur nostro periculo, Moguntinus et Brunsvicensis." Melanc. ad Luth. Ep. i. 4. Augsb. 1530. Confer Seck. iii. 368 (p), et alibi. "Hæc ostendunt, non falsum esse Lutherum, nec electorem Saxoniæ, cum nihil æqui a Moguntino sibi promitterent, sed ab ejus ingenio plurimum metuerent, licet aliquando pacis studium, et reformationis desiderium egregie simulare nosset."

ought certainly to take the lead with them, as churchmen. He cites the late decree of Ratisbon, which enjoined reformation on the diocesan; and urges that it behoved them, as the counsellors of their archbishop, to suggest to him the nature and means of that reformation; without which they would, in fact, soon lose all their influence over the people. He strikingly exposes the absurdity and even profaneness of private masses, in which the priest went through all the service, using the addresses, "The Lord be with you—Lift up your hearts unto the Lord —Take, eat," &c. when there were no communicants present.—This proposal for the reformation of the chapter of Magdeburg failed at that time, but it took effect a few years afterwards.[1] A. D. 1545.

All George's writings (which are reviewed at large by Seckendorf,)[2] prove him to have become a firm, zealous, able, yet mild and dignified assertor of all the great principles of the reformation.

In the year 1544 died the bishop of the important diocese of Mersburg; and, by a strange abuse not uncommon in those times, Augustus, brother to Maurice duke of Saxony, though a layman, and only eighteen years of age, was unanimously elected his successor. The election, however, proved highly beneficial: for Augustus, being, like his brother, a friend to the reformation, and fettered by no other restriction than that of leaving the services of the cathedral church to the direction of the canons, appointed George of Anhalt, the senior of their number, to administer the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese according to his own dis- Made administrator of Mersburg.

[1] Seck. iii. 504, 505. [2] Ib. 498—511.

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cretion, and with a liberal salary; thus virtually conferring upon him all the peculiar powers of a bishop. Maurice, at the same time, made him ecclesiastical superintendant of Leipsic, and of such parts of Thuringia as belonged to his jurisdiction; and he was already spiritual administrator of Misnia.[1] Thus he was raised to a sphere of usefulness suited to his rank, his talents, and his piety; and he occupied it for five years in a manner worthy of the high reputation he already enjoyed. Indeed Seckendorf says of him, "There was no virtue of an ecclesiastic which was not conspicuous in him; so that he may be called the ornament of the age in which he lived, and an example to all that shall come after:"[2] and Camerarius, who wrote an account of his life, states, that in him "high birth and station were admirably tempered with condescension; and that, though he was himself eminently wise and learned, yet such was his modesty, that he would scarcely take any step whatever without deliberate consideration, and consulting friends on whose judgment he could rely." He considers it, therefore, as a special instance of the divine goodness, that a person of such talents, and so eminent for diligence, firmness, piety, and sanctity, should have been placed over the church in that part of Saxony at this period.[3]

Superseded by a new Bishop.

In the year 1549, after the imperial edict, called the Interim, had been published, Augustus of Saxony, having married Ann of Denmark, resigned the bishopric of Mersburg, and Heldingus, one of the three persons[4] who had

[1] Seck. iii. 497. [2] Ib. 498 (a).
[3] Camer. in vit. Melanc. § 87.
[4] Julius Pflug and John Agricola Islebius were the other two.

composed the Interim, was appointed his successor. The administration of George, of course, ceased: but, in his capacity of senior canon, he still firmly supported the protestant interest in the diocese. Joined by some others of the canons, he claimed of the bishop a promise, that he would not disturb the order of things which he found established; would not re-introduce the abrogated ceremonies; nor molest the married clergy. He supported this demand by urging certain irregularities attending the appointment of the new bishop, on the ground of which they might refuse to acknowledge him. In deference, however, to the imperial authority, he would consent to overlook these, provided Heldingus would give him satisfaction as to the plan on which he meant to proceed in the government of the diocese.—The bishop, in consequence, made fair promises; but George, still cherishing a distrust, which the event warranted, took care to have his protest recorded; in which he disclaimed the authority of the bishop, and appealed to a free and Christian council, in case he should not act up to his present professions. Having done this, he said he would now attend him to the cathedral church, and join in imploring for him the grace and assistance of the Holy Spirit; still, however, not pledging himself, by that concurrence in his inauguration, to acquiesce in any false doctrine which might be introduced.[1] A. D. 1544.

George's apprehensions were soon realized. The bishop, being once established in power, forgot his promises; began to promulgate the ancient errors; and, ere long, openly professed his intention of restoring all things to their

[1] Seck. iii. 499, 510.

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His Writings. 1549, 50.

former state under the papacy. In consequence, George did not scruple to preach two elaborate sermons, with the avowed intention of publishing them, against the errors of the church of Rome, and in defence of protestant doctrines and principles. Some delay occurred in committing them to the press, but they were published in the year 1551, with a copious preface. They are both from the gospel for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, taken from the seventh chapter of St. Matthew; the former, a warning against false teachers, from ver. 15; the latter, a comparison of popery and protestantism as to their practical "fruits," from ver. 16.—In the preface, he gives an account of himself and his early proceedings, the same in substance with that which has been laid before the reader from his correspondence with duke George. He also explains his conduct as administrator of the diocese of Mersburg, in which it had been his aim, among other things, to reform the canons, but to continue the canonries—an object which Luther also approved.[1] He further states in what manner he had conducted himself towards the new bishop; considers largely the subject of the protestant ordinations—which had been attacked, and on the other hand impugns those of the papists; defends Luther on certain points; and explains the course which he himself had adopted with respect to the Interim. It seems that here he had been charged by some of his own friends with conforming too far: but he asserts, that he had not compromised a single point of Christian truth, and had only acted upon Luther's own rule, of complying with such ceremonies as might tend

[1] Above, p. 308.

to edification, and could be retained without the sacrifice of any principle.[1] A. D. 1544.

In the second of his discourses, he contrasts the prohibition of the scriptures, the neglect of the education of youth, and of the instruction of the people, (to a degree that even tended to bring back barbarism,) and many other evils among the papists, with the opposite system every where introduced by the protestants. And here he makes a splendid eulogium of Luther's translation of the whole scriptures "from the Hebrew and Greek originals," with which neither the Septuagint, nor the Vulgate, nor any other ancient version, however celebrated, could bear a comparison; and by means of which, he says, the inspired writers "spoke to the people of Germany, as clearly and intelligibly as if they had been born and brought up among them."[2]

In the preface to some sermons on the sixteenth Psalm, he has preserved the following interesting memorandum concerning Luther. The reformer had visited George at Mersburg, and just before he took his leave, while sitting in his chair, he solemnly lifted up his hands and eyes, and said, "I thank my God, that I never discovered or proposed any new doctrine; but held fast the old and true one; and to the utmost of my power withstood all novelties, contrary to the ancient and genuine doctrine and faith of Christ, whether introduced by Jews, Turks, heretics, papists, sacramentarians, or anabaptists."—"These words," says George, "I heard with great pleasure, and was confirmed by them in my opinion of Luther, that he sought no innovation, but closely followed the scriptures, constantly adhered to the true faith, and

[1] Seck. iii. 499—501. [2] Ib. 501, 502, and i. 206.

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censured nothing but errors in doctrine and corruptions in practice."[1]

In the close of another work, on the sacrament, he quotes a letter of Eccius's, dated at Ingolstadt, May 14, 1535, in which the writer confesses, that he "could not find that any pope had abolished the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, prior to the councils of Constance and Basil," in the fifteenth century: "but," adds Eccius, "as the church increased, and it became impossible that due reverence should be shewn to the sacrament amid such numbers of people, Christians, without any express injunction, in honour of the sacrament itself, withdrew, and were content with one kind—and this they *doubtless did by the suggestion of the Holy Ghost!*"[2]—Such an avowal, in all its parts, from so hackneyed a champion of popish errors, cannot fail to make a due impression on the mind of every reflecting reader.

His Death.

The excellent man, whose history will not have been thought tedious, though detailed at some length, died on the 17th of October, 1553, aged only forty-six years and two months. He was of a weakly constitution, which he further impaired by incessant labours and studies. The sentiment of Seckendorf seems perfectly just, that few even of the most leading reformers are more deserving of our admiration than he was. Though, in the humility of his heart, he reverenced Luther and Melancthon as his teachers, and highly esteemed Bugenhagius and others, yet in sound learning, theological knowledge, philological skill, deep acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, judgment, eloquence, and unaffected modesty, few surpassed him; while the

[1] Seck. iii. 503. [2] Ibid.

mildness of his manners and the innocence of his life protected him from those charges, which were brought against many of the persons in conjunction with whom he laboured. Indeed the union of boldness and meekness appears as the leading grace of his character. He was intitled to share with his brothers in the sovereignty of the principality of Anhalt; but he left it to them, living on the most affectionate terms with them, and ever ready to assist them with his best advice. Considering his rank and attainments, he might have aspired to the highest dignities in the church; but he was content with what he had, and preferred "the reproach of Christ" to any worldly advancement. He lived unmarried, though he zealously contended for the liberty of marriage in the clergy. His end appears to have been eminently devout and peaceful. Camerarius, as we have said, published a short account of his life. Melchior Adam also has assigned to him more space than to many others: and Melancthon composed an oration in his praise—or, rather let us say, in praise of the grace of God bestowed upon him: yet he is comparatively little known to the English reader. A fourth edition of his works, in one volume, folio, in Latin, was published, in the year 1570, by his nephews, the princes of Anhalt, sons of his elder brother John.[1]

A. D. 1544.

Bugenhagius declines the Bishopric of Camin.

The other eminent individual, of whom we have here some relation to offer, is John Bugenhagius Pomeranus, a person whose name has frequently occurred in these pages, and

[1] Seck. iii. 498, 499, 510, 511. Seckendorf, by mistake, makes the princes of Anhalt to descend from Joachim, instead of John. See Hane, Hist. Ref. ii. 17.

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who had rendered many important services to the reformation. In the same year that George of Anhalt was made administrator of Mersburg, the bishopric of Camin, in his own native country of Pomerania, was offered to Bugenhagius, and earnestly pressed upon his acceptance; and it appears that it was the *third* that had been thus proposed to him:[1] but never did an ambitious churchman more earnestly seek such a dignity, than he declined it; nor any disappointed aspirant more bitterly bewail his failure, than this good man did his having for a time consented to his own advancement. The deceased bishop was the very prelate who had driven Bugenhagius from his country, for preaching the reformed doctrine.[2] The nomination to the vacant see was vested in the reigning dukes Barnimus and Philip, both protestants: but they differed with some asperity concerning the person who should be appointed. At length they were prevailed with to agree upon Bugenhagius; and they sent a splendid embassy to Wittemberg to solicit him to accept the office, representing that in so doing he would meet the earnest wishes of the chapter and the whole province. The deputies added, that, in fact, his doing so was the only probable means of preventing the differences between the two dukes being decided by arms. This last consideration, seconded by the advice of the elector of Saxony, prevailed with Bugenhagius to yield a conditional assent: but he had no sooner done this, than he fell into a degree of melancholy, considering his conduct as both infatuated and sinful, and as permitted

[1] The two others were probably in Denmark.

[2] Above, p. 178.

A. D. 1544.

for the punishment of his other offences. He therefore mournfully entreated of God both pardon and deliverance: and, when the conditions which he had stipulated were not agreed to by the dukes, he gladly availed himself of the opportunity of retracting his consent. The reasons which he assigned were, his age, of sixty years; his health, enfeebled by incessant labours; the manner in which the diocese had been administered for sixteen years past; the involved state of its finances, which would not allow of his doing, for a long time to come, what his conscience would dictate in behalf of the clergy, the churches, and the schools. He should be distracted also, he said, with so much business relating to external affairs, as would quite obstruct his application to study and the preaching of the word; and that would be so painful to his feelings as of itself to prove fatal to him. Moreover he thought it would be matter of scandal, if the reformers, who were charged with deposing bishops, should be seen themselves to mount their vacant thrones. "For the honour of the gospel, therefore," he says, "I will reject all that episcopal dignity and pomp, with its jurisdictions and riches, as I have twice done before." He offered, however, if a bishop were first appointed, and the case required, to go and reorganize the reformation of Pomerania, which had first been established, in a considerable degree, under his direction.[1]

This remarkable narrative is not usually found in the accounts of Bugenhagius, but is given by Seckendorf from papers in the Saxon archives.—There can be no doubt that Bugen-

[1] Seck. iii. 511, 512.

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hagius determined wisely for his own ease and comfort, in refusing, at sixty years of age, to make so great a change in his station and habits of life: and our own times have not been without examples of a similar decision made from such considerations. Whether there might not be some degree of morbid feeling mixed up in the transaction, I will not pronounce: but certainly the disinterested and unambitious spirit shewn by the reformer, as well as several of the reasons he assigned, and none more than the last, do him great honour. It is little seemly or creditable either to themselves, or to the religion they profess, when men, born, and perhaps brought up in low stations, evidently make the gospel which they preach the stepping-stone to advance themselves to riches and honours.

Bugenhagius lived nearly fourteen years after this time, and died in peace April 20, 1558.

General Course of Events, stated from Dr. Robertson.

We turn now to the general course of public events during this last stage of our present history; and shall again avail ourselves of the view given of it by Dr. Robertson.

Agreement between the Emperor and the King of France.

"By a private article, not inserted in the treaty of Crespy, that it might not raise any unseasonable alarm, Charles agreed with Francis, that both should exert all their influence and power in order to procure a general council, to assert its authority, and to exterminate the protestant heresy out of their dominions. This cut off all chance of assistance which the confederates of Smalkalde might expect from the French king.[1]....

[1] Seck. iii. 496.

A. D. 1544.

The Emperor's Plans.

"Every circumstance seemed to promise the continuance of peace. The emperor, cruelly afflicted with the gout, appeared to be in no condition to undertake any enterprise where great activity was requisite, or much fatigue to be endured.....The violence of his disease confined him several months in Brussels, and was the apparent cause of his putting off the execution of the great scheme which he had formed in order to humble the protestant party in Germany. But there were other reasons for this delay: for, however prevalent the motives were which determined him to undertake this enterprise, the nature of that great body which he was about to attack, as well as the situation of his own affairs, made it necessary to deliberate long, to proceed with caution, and not too suddenly to throw aside the veil under which he had hitherto concealed his real sentiments and schemes. He was sensible that the protestants, conscious of their own strength, but under continual apprehensions of his designs, had all the boldness of a powerful confederacy joined to the jealousy of a feeble faction; and were no less quick-sighted to discern the first appearance of danger, than ready to take arms in order to repel it. At the same time, he still continued involved in a Turkish war; and though, in order to deliver himself from this incumbrance, he had determined to send an envoy to the Porte with most advantageous and even submissive overtures of peace, the resolutions of that haughty court were so uncertain, that, before these were known, it would have been highly imprudent to have kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions.

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A Council summoned at Trent, 1544.

"Upon this account, he appeared dissatisfied with a bull issued by the pope immediately after the peace of Crespy, summoning the council to assemble at Trent early next spring, and exhorting all Christian princes to embrace the opportunity, that the present happy interval of tranquillity afforded them, of suppressing those heresies which threatened to subvert whatever was sacred or venerable among Christians. But, after such a slight expression of dislike as was necessary in order to cover his designs, he determined to countenance the council, which might become no inconsiderable instrument towards accomplishing his projects; and therefore not only appointed ambassadors to appear there in his name, but ordered the ecclesiastics in his dominions to attend at the time prefixed.[1]

Diet of Worms, 1545. Mar. 25.

"Such were the emperor's views, when the imperial diet, after several prorogations, was opened at Worms. The protestants, who enjoyed the free exercise of their religion by a very precarious tenure.... wished earnestly to establish that important privilege upon some firmer basis, and to hold it by a perpetual not by a temporary title. But, instead of offering them any additional security, Ferdinand opened the diet with observing, that there were two points, chiefly, which required consideration, the prosecution of the war against the Turks, and the state of religion;.... that the controversies about the latter were so intricate, and of such difficult discussion, as to give no hope of its being possible to bring them at present to any final issue; that by perseverance and re-

[1] F. Paul, 104.

peated solicitations the emperor had at length prevailed on the pope to call a council, for which they had so often wished and petitioned; that the time appointed for its meeting was now come, and both parties ought to wait for its decrees, and submit to them as the decisions of the universal church. A. D. 1545. Submission to the Council demanded.

"The popish members of the diet received this declaration with great applause, and signified their entire acquiescence in every particular which it contained. The protestants expressed surprise at propositions, which were so manifestly repugnant to the recess of the former diet. They insisted that the questions with regard to religion, as first in dignity and importance, ought to come first under deliberation; that, alarming as the progress of the Turks was to all Germany, the securing the free exercise of their religion touched them still more nearly, nor could they prosecute a foreign war with spirit, while solicitous and uncertain about their domestic tranquillity; that, if the latter were once rendered firm and permanent, they would concur with their countrymen in pushing the former, and yield to none of them in activity or zeal. But, if the danger from the Turkish arms was indeed so imminent, as not to admit of such a delay as would be occasioned by an immediate examination of the controverted points in religion, they required that a diet should be instantly appointed, to which the final settlement of their religious disputes should be referred; and that in the mean time the decree of the former diet concerning religion should be explained in a point which they deemed essential. By the recess of Spires it was provided, that they should enjoy unmolested the public exercise of their religion, until the

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meeting of a legal council; but, as the pope had now called a council, to which Ferdinand had required them to submit, they began to suspect that their adversaries might take advantage of an ambiguity in the terms of the recess, and, pretending that the event therein mentioned had now taken place, might pronounce them to be no longer entitled to the same indulgence. In order to guard against this interpretation, they renewed their former remonstrances against a council called to meet without the bounds of the empire, summoned by the pope's authority, and in which he assumed the right of presiding; and declared that, notwithstanding the convocation of any such illegal assembly, they still held the recess of the late diet to be in full force.

"At other junctures, when the emperor thought it of advantage to soothe and gain the protestants, he had devised expedients for giving them satisfaction with regard to demands seemingly more extravagant; but, his views at present being very different, Ferdinand, by his command, adhered inflexibly to his first propositions, and would make no concessions which had the most remote tendency to throw discredit on the council, or to weaken its authority. The protestants, on their part, were no less inflexible; and, after much time spent in fruitless endeavours to convince each other,

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they came to no agreement. Nor did the presence of the emperor, who upon his recovery arrived at Worms, contribute in any degree to render the protestants more compliant. Fully convinced that they were maintaining the cause of God and of truth, they shewed themselves superior to the allurements of interest, or the suggestions of fear; and, in proportion as the

emperor redoubled his solicitations, or discovered his designs, their boldness seems to have increased. At last they openly declared, that they would not even deign to vindicate their tenets in the presence of a council, assembled not to examine, but to condemn them; and that they would pay no regard to an assembly held under the influence of a pope, who had already precluded himself from all title to act as a judge, by his having stigmatized their opinions with the name of heresy, and denounced against them the heaviest censures, which, in the plenitude of his usurped power, he could inflict. [1]

A. D. 1545.

The Protestants disclaim the Council.

"While the protestants, with such union as well as firmness, rejected all intercourse with the council, and refused their assent to the imperial demands in respect to the Turkish war, Maurice of Saxony alone shewed an inclination to gratify the emperor with regard to both. Though he professed an inviolable regard to the protestant religion, he assumed an appearance of moderation peculiar to himself, by which he confirmed the favourable sentiments which the emperor already entertained of him, and gradually paved the way for executing the ambitious designs which always occupied his active and enterprising mind. [2] His example, however, had little influence upon such as agreed with him in their religious opinions; and Charles perceived that he could not hope either to procure present aid from the protestants against the Turks, or to quiet their fears and jealousies on account of their religion. But, as his schemes were not yet ripe for exe-

Conduct of Maurice of Saxony.

[1] Sleid. 343, &c. Seck. iii. 543, &c. Thuan. ii. 56.
[2] Seck. iii. 571.

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cution, nor his preparations so far advanced that he could force the compliance of the protestants, or punish their obstinacy, he artfully concealed his own intentions. That he might augment their security, he appointed a diet to be held at Ratisbon early next year, in order to adjust what was now left undetermined; and, previous to it, he agreed that a certain number of divines of each party should meet, in order to confer upon the points in dispute.[1]

The Emperor's designs suspected.

"But how far soever this appearance of a desire to maintain the present tranquillity might have imposed upon the protestants, the emperor was incapable of such uniform and thorough dissimulation, as to hide altogether from their view the dangerous designs which he was meditating against them.... To the clear evidence of his hostile intentions" furnished by his taking, precisely at this period, the canons of Cologne under his protection in their opposition to their archbishop[2]—"a prelate conspicuous for his virtue and primitive simplicity of manners."—"Charles added other proofs still more explicit. In his hereditary dominions in the Low-Countries, he persecuted all who were suspected of Lutheranism with unrelenting rigour. As soon as he arrived at Worms, he silenced the protestant preachers in that city. He allowed an Italian monk to inveigh against the Lutherans from the pulpit of his chapel, and to call upon him, as he regarded the favour of God, to exterminate that pestilent heresy.[3] He dispatched the embassy, which has been already mentioned, to Constantinople, with overtures of peace, that he might be free from any apprehensions of danger or interruption from that

[1] Sleid. 351. [2] See above, p. 373. [3] Sleid. 349.

quarter;" and his ambassadors soon after succeeded in concluding a truce with the sultan for five years. "Nor did any of these steps, or their dangerous tendency, escape the jealous observation of the protestants, or fail to alarm their fears, and to excite their solicitude for the safety of their sect." A. D. 1545.

Just at the close of the year 1545, "the general council was opened with the accustomed solemnities at Trent. The eyes of the Catholic states were turned with much expectation towards an assembly, which all had considered as capable of applying an effectual remedy for the disorders of the church when they first broke out, though many were afraid that it was now too late to hope for great benefit from it, when the malady, by being suffered to increase during twenty-eight years, had become inveterate, and grown to such extreme violence. The pope, by his last bull of convocation had appointed the first meeting to be held in the month of March" preceding. "But his views, and those of the emperor, were so different, that almost the whole year was spent in negotiations. Charles, who foresaw that the rigorous decrees of the council against the protestants would soon drive them, in self-defence as well as from resentment, to some desperate extreme, laboured to put off its meeting until his warlike preparations were so far advanced, that he might be in a condition to second its decisions by the force of his arms. The pope, who had early sent to Trent the legates who were to preside in his name, knowing to what contempt it would expose his authority, and what suspicions it would beget of his intentions, if the fathers of the council should remain in a state of inactivity, when the Council of Trent opened.

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church was in such danger as to require their immediate and vigorous interposition, insisted either upon translating the council to some city in Italy, or upon suspending altogether its proceedings at that juncture, or upon authorizing it to begin its deliberations immediately. The emperor rejected the two former expedients as equally offensive to the Germans of every denomination; but, finding it impossible to elude the latter, he proposed that the council should begin with reforming the disorders in the church, before it proceeded to examine or define articles of faith. This was the very thing which the court of Rome dreaded most, and which had prompted it to employ so many artifices in order to prevent the meeting of such a dangerous judicatory.... Without listening, therefore, to this insidious proposal of the emperor, Paul instructed his legates to open the council.

Its Proceedings. 1546.

"The first session was spent in matters of form. In a subsequent one, it was agreed that the framing of a confession of faith, wherein should be contained all the articles which the church required its members to believe, ought to be the first and principal business of the council; but that, at the same time, due attention should be given to what was necessary towards the reformation of manners and discipline. From this first symptom of the spirit with which the council was animated, from the high tone of authority which the legates who presided in it assumed, and from the implicit deference with which most of the members followed their directions, the protestants conjectured with ease what decisions they might expect. It astonished them, however, to see forty prelates (for no greater number were yet assembled,) assume authority as representatives of

the universal church, and proceed to determine the most important points of doctrine in its name. Sensible of this indecency, as well as of the ridicule with which it might be attended, the council advanced slowly in its deliberations, and all its proceedings were for some time languishing and feeble.[1] As soon as the confederates of Smalkalde received information of the opening of the council, they published a long manifesto, containing a renewal of their protest against its meeting, together with the reasons which induced them to decline its jurisdiction.[2] The pope and the emperor, on their part, were so little solicitous to quicken or add vigour to its operations, as plainly discovered that some object of greater importance occupied and interested them. A. D. 1545.

"The protestants were not inattentive or unconcerned spectators of the motions of the sovereign pontiff and of Charles, and they entertained every day more violent suspicions of their intentions, in consequence of intelligence received from different quarters of the machinations carrying on against them. The king of England informed them, that the emperor, having long resolved to exterminate their opinions, would not fail to employ this interval of tranquillity which he now enjoyed, as the most favourable juncture for carrying his design into execution. The merchants of Augsburg," as intimated on a former occasion, "received advice, by means of their correspondents in Italy, among whom were some who secretly favoured the protestant cause,[3] that a dangerous confederacy against it was forming Apprehensions of the Protestants.

1. F. Paul 120 &c. Pallavic. 180 &c.
2. Seck. iii. 602 &c. 3. Ib. 579.

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between the pope and the emperor. In confirmation of this, they heard from the Low-Countries that Charles had issued orders, though with every precaution which could keep the measure concealed, for raising troops both there and in other parts of his dominions. Such a variety of information, corroborating all that their own jealousy or observation led them to apprehend, left the protestants little reason to doubt of the emperor's hostile intentions. Under this impression, the deputies of the confederates of Smalkalde assembled at Francfort, and, by communicating their intelligence and sentiments to each other, reciprocally heightened their sense of the impending danger. But their union was not such as their situation required, or the preparations of their enemies rendered necessary. Their league had now subsisted ten years. Among so many members, whose territories were intermingled with each other, and who, according to the custom of Germany, had created an infinite variety of mutual rights and claims by intermarriages, alliances, and contracts of different kinds, subjects of jealousy and discord had unavoidably arisen. Some of the confederates, being connected with the duke of Brunswick, were highly disgusted with the landgrave, on account of the rigour with which he had treated that rash and unfortunate prince. Others taxed the elector of Saxony and the landgrave, the heads of the league, with having involved the members in unnecessary and exorbitant expences by their profuseness or want of economy. The views, likewise, and temper of those two princes, who, by their superior power and authority, influenced and directed the whole body; being extremely different, rendered all its motions languid, at a time when

Their Proceedings.

the utmost vigour and dispatch were requisite. The landgrave, of a violent and enterprising temper, but not forgetful, amidst his zeal for religion, of the usual maxims of human policy, insisted that, as the danger which threatened them was manifest and unavoidable, they should have recourse to the most effectual expedient for securing their own safety, by courting the protection of the kings of France and England, or by joining in alliance with the protestant cantons of Switzerland, from whom they might expect such powerful and present assistance as their situation demanded. The elector, on the other hand, with the most upright intentions of any prince in that age, and with talents which might have qualified him abundantly for the administration of government in any tranquil period, was possessed with such superstitious veneration for all the parts of the Lutheran system, such bigoted attachment to all its tenets, as made him averse to an union with those who differed from him in any article of faith, and rendered him very incapable of undertaking its defence in times of difficulty and danger. He seemed to think, that the concerns of religion were to be regulated by principles and maxims totally different from those which apply to the common affairs of life; and, being swayed too much by the opinions of Luther, who was not only a stranger to the rules of political conduct, but despised them; he often discovered an uncomplying spirit, that proved of the greatest detriment to the cause which he wished to support. Influenced, on this occasion, by the severe and rigid notions of that reformer, he refused to enter into any confederacy with Francis, because he was a persecutor of the truth; or to solicit the friendship of Henry, because he was no less

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impious and profane than the pope himself; or even to join in alliance with the Swiss, because they differed from the Germans in several essential articles of faith. This dissension, about a point of such consequence, produced its natural effects. Each secretly censured and reproached the other. The landgrave considered the elector as fettered by narrow prejudices, unworthy of a prince called to act a chief part in a scene of such importance. The elector suspected the landgrave of loose principles and ambitious views, which corresponded ill with the sacred cause wherein they were engaged. But, though the elector's scruples prevented their timely application for foreign aid; and the jealousy or discontent of the other princes defeated a proposal for renewing their original confederacy, the term during which it was to continue in force being on the point of expiring; yet the sense of their common danger induced them to agree with regard to other points, particularly that they would never acknowledge the assembly at Trent as a lawful council, nor suffer the archbishop of Cologne to be oppressed on account of the steps which he had taken towards the reformation of his diocese. [1]

Their negotiations with the Emperor.

"The landgrave, about this time, desirous of penetrating to the bottom of the emperor's intentions, wrote to Granvelle, whom he knew to be thoroughly acquainted with all his master's schemes, informing him of the several particulars which raised the suspicions of the protestants, and begging an explicit declaration of what they had to fear or to hope. Granvelle, in return, assured them, that the intelligence which they had received of the emperor's mili-

[1] Seck. iii. 566, 570, 613. Sleid. 355.

tary preparations was exaggerated, and all their suspicions destitute of foundation; that, though, in order to guard his frontiers against any insult of the French or English, he had commanded a small body of men to be raised in the Low-Countries, he was as solicitous as ever to maintain tranquillity in Germany.[1] A. D. 1546.

Another Conference at Ratisbon.

"But the emperor's actions did not correspond with these professions of his minister: for, instead of appointing men of known moderation and pacific temper to appear in defence of the catholic doctrines at the conference which had been agreed on, he made choice of fierce bigots, attached to their own system with a blind obstinacy, that rendered all hope of a reconcilement desperate. Malvenda, a Spanish divine, who took upon him the conduct of the debate on the part of the catholics, managed it with all the subtle dexterity of a scholastic metaphysician, more studious to perplex his adversaries than to convince them, and more intent on palliating error than on discovering truth. The protestants, filled with indignation, as well at his sophistry as at some regulations which the emperor endeavoured to impose on the disputants, broke off the conference abruptly, being now fully convinced that, in all his late measures, the emperor could have no other view than to amuse them, and to gain time for ripening his own schemes.[2]

* * * * * *

The Emperor endeavours to amuse and deceive the Protestants.

"The emperor, however, pursued the plan of dissimulation with which he had set out, employing every art to amuse the protestants, and to quiet their fears and jealousies. For this purpose he contrived to have an interview with

[1] Sleid. 356. [2] Ib. 358, 359. Seck. iii. §20.

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March 28.

the landgrave of Hesse, the most active of all the confederates, and the most suspicious of his designs. To him he made such warm professions of his concern for the happiness of Germany, and of his aversion to all violent measures; he denied, in such express terms, his having entered into any league, or having begun any military preparations which should give any just cause of alarm to the protestants, as seem to have dispelled all the landgrave's doubts and apprehensions, and sent him away fully satisfied of his pacific intentions. This artifice was of great advantage, and effectually answered the purpose for which it was employed. The landgrave upon his leaving Spires, where he had been admitted to this interview, went to Worms, where the Smalkaldic confederates were assembled, and gave them such a flattering representation of the emperor's favourable disposition towards them, that they, who were too apt, as well from the temper of the German nation, as from the genius of all great associations or bodies of men, to be slow, and dilatory, and undecisive in their deliberations, thought there was no necessity of taking any immediate measures against danger, which appeared to be distant or imaginary. [1]

Proceedings of the Council.

"Such events, however, soon occurred, as staggered the credit which the protestants had given to the emperor's declarations. The council of Trent, though still composed of a small number of Italian and Spanish prelates, without a single deputy from many of the kingdoms which it assumed a right of binding by its decrees, being ashamed of its long inactivity, proceeded now to settle articles of the greatest

[1] Sleid. 367, 373.

importance. Having begun with examining the first and chief point in controversy between the church of Rome and the reformers, concerning the rule which should be held as supreme and decisive in matters of faith, the council, by its infallible authority, determined, that the books, to which the designation of *apocryphal* has been given, are of equal authority with those which were received by the Jews and primitive Christians into the sacred canon; that the traditions handed down from the apostolic age, and preserved in the church, are entitled to as much regard as the doctrines and precepts which the inspired authors have committed to writing; that the Latin translation of the scriptures, made or revised by St. Jerome, and known by the name of the *Vulgate* translation, should be read in churches, and appealed to in the schools as authentic and canonical. Against all who disclaimed the truth of these tenets, anathemas were denounced in the name and by the authority of the Holy Ghost. The decision of these points, which undermined the main foundation of the Lutheran system, was a plain warning to the protestants what judgment they might expect, when the council should have leisure to take into consideration the particular and subordinate articles of their creed.[1]

A. D. 1546.

April 8.

"This discovery of the council's readiness to condemn the opinions of the protestants was soon followed by a striking instance of the pope's resolution to punish such as embraced them"—in the deprivation and excommunication of the archbishop of Cologne. "The countenance which he had given to the Lutheran heresy was the only crime imputed to that pre-

[1] F. Paul, 141. Pallav. 206.

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late, as well as the only reason assigned to justify the extraordinary severity of this decree. The protestants could hardly believe that Paul, how zealous soever he might be to defend the established system, or to humble those who invaded it, would have ventured to proceed to such extremities against a prince and elector of the empire, without having previously secured such powerful protection, as would render his censure something more than an impotent and despicable sally of resentment. They were of course deeply alarmed at this sentence against the archbishop, considering it as a sure indication of the malevolent intentions not only of the pope, but of the emperor, against the whole party.[1]

The Emperor about to commence hostilities against the Protestants.

"Upon this fresh revival of their fears, with such violence as is natural to men roused from a false security, and conscious of their having been deceived, Charles saw that now it became necessary to throw aside the mask, and to declare openly what part he determined to act. By a long series of artifice and fallacy, he had gained so much time, that his measures, though not altogether ripe for execution, were in great forwardness. The pope by his proceedings against the elector of Cologne, as well as by the decree of the council, had precipitated matters into such a situation, as rendered a breach between the emperor and the protestants almost unavoidable. Charles had, therefore, no choice left him, but either to take part with them in overturning what the see of Rome had determined, or to support the authority of the church openly by force of arms. Nor did the pope think it enough to have brought the emperor under the necessity of acting; he pressed

[1] Sleid. 354. F Paul, 155. Pallav. 224.

him to begin his operations, by promising to second him with such vigour as could not well fail of securing his success. Transported by his zeal against heresy, Paul forgot all the prudent and cautious maxims of the papal see, with regard to the danger of extending the imperial authority beyond due bounds; and in order to crush the Lutherans, he was willing to contribute towards raising up a master that might one day prove formidable to himself as well as to the rest of Italy..... A. D. 1546.

"Such was the situation of affairs, ... when the diet of the empire met at Ratisbon. Many of the Roman catholic members appeared there in person; but most of the confederates of Smalkalde, under pretence of being unable to bear the expence occasioned by the late unnecessary frequency of such assemblies, sent only deputies. Their jealousy of the emperor, together with an apprehension that violence might, perhaps, be employed, in order to force their approbation of what he should propose in the diet, was the true cause of their absence. The speech with which the emperor opened the diet was extremely artful. After professing, in common form, his regard for the prosperity of the Germanic body, and declaring that, in order to bestow his whole attention upon the re-establishment of its order and tranquillity, he had at present abandoned all other cares, rejected the most pressing solicitations of his other subjects to reside among them, and postponed affairs of the greatest importance; he took notice, with some disapprobation, that his disinterested example had not been imitated; many members of chief consideration having neglected to attend an assembly, to which he had repaired with such manifest inconvenience Diet of Ratisbon. June 5.

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to himself. He then mentioned their unhappy dissensions about religion; lamented the ill success of his past endeavours to compose them; complained of the abrupt dissolution of the late conference; and craved their advice with respect to the best and most effectual method of restoring union to the churches of Germany, together with the happy agreement in articles of faith, which their ancestors had found to be of no less advantage to their civil interests, than becoming their Christian profession.

"By this gracious and popular method of consulting the members of the diet, rather than of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own, besides the appearance of great moderation, and the merit of paying much respect to their judgment, the emperor dexterously avoided discovering his own sentiments, and reserved to himself, as his only part, that of carrying into execution what they should recommend. Nor was he less secure of such a decision as he wished to obtain, by referring it wholly to themselves. The Roman catholic members, prompted by their own zeal, or prepared by his intrigues, joined immediately in representing that the authority of the council now met at Trent ought to be supreme in all matters of controversy; that all Christians should submit to its decrees as the infallible rule of their faith; and therefore they besought him to exert the power, with which he was invested by the Almighty, in protecting that assembly, and in compelling the protestants to acquiesce in its determinations." The protestants, on the other hand, presented a memorial, in which, after repeating their objections to the council of Trent, they proposed, as the only effectual method of deciding the points in dispute, that either a free

general council should be assembled in Germany, or a select number of divines should be appointed out of each party to examine and define articles of faith. They mentioned the recesses of several diets favourable to this proposition, and which had afforded them the prospect of terminating all their differences in this amicable manner; they now conjured the emperor not to depart from his former plan, and, by offering violence to their consciences, to bring calamities upon Germany, the very thought of which must fill every lover of his country with horror. The emperor, receiving this paper with a contemptuous smile, paid no further regard to it. Having already taken his final resolution, and perceiving that nothing but force could compel them to acquiesce in it, he dispatched the cardinal of Trent to Rome, in order to conclude an alliance with the pope, the terms of which were already agreed on; he commanded a body of troops, levied on purpose in the Low-Countries, to advance towards Germany; he gave commissions to several officers for raising men in different parts of the empire; he warned John and Albert of Brandenburg, that now was the proper time of exerting themselves, in order to rescue their ally, Henry of Brunswick, from captivity.[1]

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June 9.

"All these things could not be transacted without the observation and knowledge of the protestants. The secret was now in many hands; under whatever veil the emperor still affected to conceal his designs, his officers kept no such mysterious reserve; and his allies and subjects spoke out his intentions plainly. Alarmed with reports of this kind from every

Open preparations for war.

[1] Sleid. 374. Seck. iii. 658.

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quarter, as well as with the preparations for war which they could not but observe, the deputies of the confederates demanded audience of the emperor, and, in the name of their masters, required to know whether these military preparations were carried on by his command, and for what end, and against what enemy? To a question put in such a tone, and at a time when facts were become too notorious to be denied, it was necessary to give an explicit answer. Charles owned the orders he had issued, and, professing his purpose not to molest on account of religion those who should act as dutiful subjects, declared that he had nothing in view but to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the imperial dignity, and, by punishing some factious members, to preserve the ancient constitution of the empire from being impaired or dissolved by their irregular and licentious conduct. Though the emperor did not name the persons whom he charged with such high crimes, and destined to be the objects of his vengeance, it was obvious that he had the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse in view. Their deputies considering what he had said, as a plain declaration of his hostile intentions, immediately retired from Ratisbon."[1] The diet soon after broke up, and both parties openly prepared for war.

June 16.

July 24.

In the mean time the great instrument which providence had employed in producing the reformation was no more. "While appearances of danger daily increased, and the tempest which had been so long gathering was ready to break forth in all its violence against the protestant church, Luther was saved by a season-

[1] Sleid. 376.

able death, from feeling or beholding its destructive rage. Having gone, though in a declining state of health, and during a rigorous season, to his native city of Eysleben, in order to compose, by his authority, a dissension among the counts of Mansfield, he was seized with a violent inflammation in his stomach, which in a few days put an end to his life, in the sixty-third year of his age."[1] A. D. 1546. Feb. 18.

Such is the clear, and, in the main, very correct outline of the course of public events before us, which is now to be filled up with matters appropriate to our specific object. Further particulars relating to the History of Religion.

Two diets, it will have been observed, are comprehended within this period, that of Worms in 1545, and that of Ratisbon in 1546; and with the former is connected a scheme for a general reformation of the church, which, in compliance with the recess of the preceding diet of Spires, the elector caused his divines to prepare; and with the latter another conference between the catholic and protestant parties, of which some notice has been taken.

The decree of Spires directed each party to prepare a formulary of reformation, extending both to doctrines, ceremonies, and discipline, and of which concession towards their opponents, carried to the utmost limits that conscience would allow, was to be the leading principle; in order that, from the comparison of the two, to be made at the diet of Worms, it might be ascertained what hope existed of bringing the contending parties together, or of establishing some pacific compromise between them. Though this was in itself a sufficiently unpro- Scheme of Reformation prepared for the Diet of Worms. 1545.

[1] Robertson iii. 283, 286—295, 300—308, 315—325, 309.

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mising project, and, after the condemnation which the pope had pronounced of the whole proceeding, the catholics were sure not to perform their part of the prescribed task, yet the elector thought it not right that the protestants should be wanting to their duty, or that they should lose this fresh opportunity of explaining their views, and shewing the moderation of their aims. Accordingly, by a rescript dated November 23, 1544, he called upon the divines of Wittemberg to prepare and submit to him such a document as was required. They lost no time in complying with the demand, and transmitted their plan in the month of January following, signed by Luther, Bugenhagius, Cruciger, G. Major, and Melancthon. It is not necessary here to enlarge on its contents: it may be seen at length in Seckendorf.[1] They avow little expectation of its proving at all availing, but they say, "According to our proper calling, we comply with the orders we have received, and propose a plan of reformation, which will sufficiently shew that we grasp not at the dignities or the wealth of the ecclesiastics, nor afford any just occasion for schism in the church. We cannot provide against all dangers; we aim to do our duty, and commit the rest to God."—Great piety, wisdom, and moderation seem to reign throughout the composition.

Bucer's Scheme.

Bucer, about the same time, transmitted a scheme drawn up by himself, and approved at Strasburg. It was very long,[2] and its tone was

[1] Seck. iii. 522—536: also in Pezelii Consil. Melanc. i. 586. &c. Melancthon appears to have made the Latin version of this document: but the original German seems not to have been composed either by him or Luther, though signed by them both.

[2] Extending to ninety-four folio pages. It is abstracted in Seck. iii. 539—543.

very different from that of the Wittemberg formulary. It may well be thought surprising, that Bucer, who has been styled "the moderate reformer," and who appears on some occasions to have been in danger of sacrificing sincerity to peace, should have adopted so different a line of conduct at the present time. He commences with censuring the course hitherto taken by the protestants, in submitting to be considered as the accused party, and standing upon the defensive: he would have them now boldly come forward as the accusers, and charge the pope, the bishops, and their adherents, with all the atrocities and abominations of which they were guilty. "Nor must they," he argues, "be content with effecting such a reformation as they desire for themselves and those who may choose to embrace it: they must demand its admission, generally, by the whole church—to leave any part of which subject to papal corruptions is to be unfaithful to Christ, and virtually to deny him." This was strangely, indeed, to confound what was desirable with what was attainable, and, by grasping at that which was hopeless, to risque the loss of all. A. D. 1545.

The elector of Saxony sent both the documents which he had received to Pontanus, desiring his judgment upon them. This wise and excellent person expressed himself dissatisfied with the Strasburg scheme, the opening of which he thought arrogant and unbecoming; and the elector himself judiciously remarked, that to prefer an accusation against the bishop and church of Rome before the imperial diet, thus making that body judges of the question at issue, would be to sanction an evil precedent against themselves—for the diet would feel itself equally intitled to decide upon the doctrines Judgment of the Elector, and of Pontanus.

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and usages of the protestants. "Luther, it is true," he observes, "had brought all those charges against the church of Rome, which Bucer would now prefer; but under widely different circumstances. Luther wrote as an individual, aiming to put the guilty party to shame, and to bring them to repentance, or to induce those who were convinced by his arguments to desert them: but this had no resemblance to the case of a body of princes presenting a formal accusation before a court, which was to hear and decide upon the cause." The paper of Bucer, however, Seckendorf observes, contained many excellent things, highly worthy of the writer's reputation; and, "when he advanced any peculiar opinions, he was not tenacious of them, or disposed for their sake to disturb the peace of the church."

With the Wittemberg paper Pontanus was highly gratified. He thought it faithful and yet eminently mild and temperate. "The vehemence of Luther," he says, "is not to be found in its style, yet it is thoroughly sound and good." He would have it rendered into Latin by Melancthon; and he felt assured that it must every where produce a strong impression of the moderation of the protestant body. "Though the reformation," he observes, "which the pope and the bishops will propose in their council will be of a very different sort, they will gain nothing from the comparison of the two but censure, shame, and increasing contempt." He only feared lest Bucer's scheme should occasion any division among the protestants. He commends the mildness of Melancthon, and says, the elector will remember how serviceable it had proved at Augsburg. He would have him therefore employed on the present occasion,

and Luther's services reserved for other circumstances, which he feared the proceedings of the approaching council would soon present. "Then," he says, "there will be need for Luther to seize the great axe, and lay about him manfully. For that sort of work he has, by the gift and grace of God, a spirit superior to that of other men." A. D. 1545.

The elector next communicated the Wittemberg plan to the landgrave. He and his divines highly approved it, suggesting only some minor alterations, which were easily admitted.

In their correspondence with the elector on this occasion the Wittemberg divines complain, that their adversaries became more and more furious; that this very year great numbers of persons, and among them some very wise and learned men, had been burned for their religion; and that Ferdinand, notwithstanding his fair professions in Germany, had issued such edicts concerning religion as caused great distress to his Hungarian subjects, who trembled at the thoughts of the Turkish war commencing with such auspices. "The blood of Christians will cry to heaven, and, it is to be feared, will be severely visited. These murders and burnings cannot last long:" "We have sketched," they say, "a short and somewhat *frigid* form of reformation. We are very willing that others should deliver their sentiments, and propose what is better. We have purposely passed over many difficult questions; so that any candid person may perceive that we seek not contention, but incline as much as is possible and lawful to peace, while our adversaries will not point out a single iota in which they will make the least concession. But whatever the will of God may be, we will say, *My prayer is unto* Correspondence of the Wittemberg Divines.

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thee, O Lord! and will render such an account of our doctrine as God shall enable us."

As they had anticipated, however, there proved to be no sincerity in the proposals that had been made for a candid discussion of differences between the two parties; and the plan of reformation which had been prepared with so much care, and in such a spirit of moderation, was never called for. [1]

It may be observed, that on this occasion Luther still explicitly adheres to his principle, that no use of force, beyond the strict limits of self-defence, was lawful for the protestants as a religious body, though strong grounds had been given to the princes for taking arms against their adversaries. [2] And, as this was in the last year of his life, it may serve to rebut the insinuations of Bossuet and others, that he became ultimately by no means unwilling to promote his reformation by force of arms.

Conference of Ratisbon:

Against that part of the recess of Worms, which appointed a conference to take place between a certain number of catholic and protestant divines, previously to the diet of Ratisbon, a protest was entered by both parties; by the former, because it was referring religious questions to a tribunal not authorized to take cognizance of them; by the latter, because it might prejudice the liberty granted by the recess of Spires, to continue till the question of religion could be settled by a competent authority. But the measure suited the emperor's present purposes, and therefore it passed. The pope shewed that he had an understanding with Charles in the business; and, though the elector of Saxony was much disinclined to it, his divines

[1] Seck. iii. 521, 536—539, 543, 555, 556. [2] Ib. 543 (q).

justly and temperately urged, that it was "one thing to ask a conference, and another to consent to one when the emperor demanded it."[1] Its proceedings, however, were soon terminated, and there is no need to enter at all minutely into them. We have already had more than enough of these vain attempts to make fire and water coalesce, which can only be at peace when kept apart, or by the nature of one or of both being changed. What sort of managers the emperor deputed to the conference, Dr. Robertson has already informed us.[2] The bishop of Aichstadt, Maurice Hutten, was the first president; and he, before the conferences began, invited the whole party to his table, and there advised them to refer the matter entire to the council, and to proceed to Trent, rather than dispute where they were; declaring that, for his own part, he was determined to adhere to *old mother church*.[3] On the part of the protestants, the divines first nominated were Melancthon, Bucer, Snepfius, and Brentius; but Melancthon was excused at the instance of Luther, and G. Major substituted for him. I quote the words of Luther on this occasion, as tending to refute the charge of jealousy and unkindness towards Melancthon, which Hospinian (a historian of the 'reformed' church) has insinuated against him. "There is not a man there," Luther says, "worthy to dispute with Melancthon. Major is more than

A. D. 1546.

[1] Sleid. 352. Seck. iii. 546; 547, 620.

[2] One of the elector of Saxony's counsellors characterizes them by the two lines;

Ignavi monachi, pepones, et inertia terræ
Pondera, degeneri, dedita turba gulæ;

and Bucer says of them, "Quibus pejores, impudentiores, et magis profani et impii reperiri non potuerint. Seck. iii. 616, 623.

[3] "Materculam vetulam."

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a match for them; and he has Snepfius and Brentius to support him—men who neither will nor can make any injurious concession. Melancthon also is not in good health, and he ought not to be needlessly exposed, lest we should have in vain to lament his loss. Besides, the younger men ought to be brought forward, that they may be prepared to take our place."[1]

It properly belonged to Major, as deputed by the elector, to take the lead on the protestant side; but his modesty made him absolutely refuse this, and that part devolved in consequence on Bucer, as the senior. Some distrust of him, as too prone to concession was felt; but he appears to have performed his part faithfully and well. Major bears the most honourable testimony of him, as admirably fitted for such a discussion, conducting himself with signal fidelity, and shewing the highest regard for the divines of Wittemberg, whom he called "his fathers and preceptors."[2] This again repels the calumny of Maimbourg, that Bucer "advanced many things which were not sanctioned by the judgment of his colleagues."

Indeed scarcely any other point of doctrine seems to have come under discussion, than that of justification, which the protestants contended ought not to have been here discussed at all, it being among those which had been settled at the conferences held in the same place five years before. Malvenda, however, would enter largely into it; and, after having heard Bucer fully in reply, he came to the following conclusions: "That works do dispose and prepare men for justification; that charity is the *form*" or essence "of (justifying)

[1] Seck. iii. 621. [2] Ib. 625, 626.

righteousness; and that the works of justified men consummate justification, and deserve eternal life"[1]—a statement subversive of the true scriptural doctrine. A. D. 1546.

The conferences did not begin till the twenty-seventh of January, and by the middle of February the emperor signed, at Utrecht, those orders concerning the management of them which brought them to an end. He would have no minutes taken except by persons appointed by the presidents, (all of them hostile to the protestants,) and those minutes to be very brief; and he required every one present to take an oath, to reveal nothing that passed to any human being, till the result should have been submitted to him and the states of the empire, and leave obtained from them. These orders were supposed to have been drawn up at Ratisbon, and transmitted to the emperor for his sanction. broken off.

Conferences had previously taken place during three days, without form, and without notes being made of what passed: but the presidents themselves saw that the practice was open to great abuse, and they would not allow it to be continued. To this laxity of proceeding Seckendorf doubts not we are to trace the insulting stories which the papists circulated, and some of which Maimbourg has adopted.—The withholding of all communication of what passed was expressly contrary to the commission under which the protestant deputies were acting, which required them regularly to report to their principals; and they accordingly refused the engagement required of them: and, having, by order of their princes, entered their protest against this and other impositions, they in the

[1] Sleid. 359.

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course of the following month successively quitted Ratisbon. At this the emperor expressed great displeasure in the ensuing diet; but it may be observed, that the bishop of Aichstadt himself had set them the example, though he left a written apology for his departure.[1]

Remarks of Roman Catholics.

Cochlæus, (who had been one of the presidents,) in a book which he published, pronounced the princes, divines, and all concerned on the protestant side, to be "apostates, rebels, and heretics, and that they ought to be proceeded against accordingly:" and Pallavicini says, "Torches were wanting here, not to illuminate the protestants but to burn them, for they erred not from darkness of understanding, but from depravity of heart."[2] Father Paul's remark, however is, that "the conference was dissolved by the arts of the cathòlics, and the deceitful pretences of the emperor."[3]

Diet of Ratisbon.

Concerning the *diet* of Ratisbon nothing more need here be added. On the emperor's conduct we may remark, that the meanness, deceit, and tyranny, by which it was characterized, are in the highest degree offensive to every sentiment of honour and justice. Yet all is justified, and even applauded, both by Pallavicini and Maimbourg, because it was to serve the church! But "it belongs," says Seckendorf, "to *their* school, who hesitate not to prefer the *useful* to the *right*, and who maintain that truth is not to be observed in dealing with heretics, where it may be of advantage to the church to disregard it."[4] Nothing could have been more agreeable to our feelings, than to have seen

Subsequent events.

[1] Sleid. 459, 460. Seck. iii. 626—628.
[2] Pallav. vi. 9. [3] Seck. iii. 628, 661.
[4] Seck. iii. 551, 552, 618.

Charles, after all his artifice and contrivance, taken unprepared, and defeated at the head of the troops which he had got together, and the forces of his prompter, the pope, cut off before they could reach the scene of action; all which had well nigh taken place, and, humanly speaking, might easily have been effected. Thus the liberty of Germany might have been established, and the protestant religion placed in security. This would have exactly met *our* wishes: but to that higher Wisdom which controls all occurrences, and watches with an eye of special regard over the affairs of the church, it seemed good to permit a widely different course of events. It pleased Him, indeed, ultimately to establish the cause of the German protestants in safety: but, according to the anticipations which we have repeatedly seen the leading reformers entertaining, their church was to be previously humbled and purified. It was His good pleasure also to bring down the pride, and to disappoint the ambition of Charles V, as effectually, and in as mortifying a manner, as if it had been accomplished by the elector and the landgrave; but it was to be by the hand of a man of far less principle than either of them, whom the emperor himself was, with the most unsuspecting confidence, nourishing up to execute both these great designs of providence.—Here then we are strikingly taught to commit our ways to God, to leave all with him, and in faith and patience to wait the unfolding of His dispensations, who will infallibly bring about the events most to be desired, in the time and by the means which are the best to be chosen.

A. D. 1546.

Such were, in fact, the sentiments with which the pious elector of Saxony received the news of the emperor's virtual denunciation of him,

Piety of the Elector.

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as a rebel, whom he would forthwith proceed to punish as he deserved. In directing his deputies quietly to withdraw from Ratisbon, he said, "He had merited no such treatment from the emperor's hands; that, whatever might be pretended, his religion was the real cause of it; and that he committed the event to God, who would undoubtedly direct the whole to the glory of his own name. By his grace," he added, "I have resolved to persevere even to the end in the confession of his word and truth, though it should be at the risque of my person, my life, and all that I possess."—He rejoiced to hear that the confederates were not dispirited; he relied on the divine aid; and, in conjunction with the landgrave, resolved to do every thing in his power for the common cause.[1]

Remarks on Dr. Robertson's representation of the Protestant Leaders.

But the representation, which Dr. Robertson makes of the protestant leaders, appears to call for some remarks. Occasions of jealousy and discord had no doubt arisen, and their union was by no means so entire as might have been wished: but Dr. Robertson's statement, I think, is suited to make a much stronger impression upon this subject, than the authors to whom he refers produce. Particularly he seems to convey too unfavourable an idea of the elector of Saxony, as compared with the landgrave, and too nearly to concur in the opinion which he represents the latter as entertaining of the former, namely, that, however "upright" a man he might be, he was "fettered by narrow prejudices, unworthy of a prince called to act a chief part in a scene of such importance." Now, no doubt, as a general, a politician, a man of the world, the landgrave might be much the

[1] Seck. iii. 663.

elector's superior: but in all other respects there could be no comparison between the two characters. For deliberate wisdom, for sound judgment, and above all for piety and virtue; for the qualities which fitted him to be the head of a religious association, previously to a state of actual warfare, and to do honour to the body whose counsels he regulated; I conceive the elector must decidedly bear away the palm. It is true, his attachment to every tenet and portion of Lutheranism might be carried to excess —might be what many, with Dr. Robertson, would call it, "bigoted and superstitious:" but it was not a blind attachment: he had closely studied what he thus firmly embraced; and his adherence to it was the result of conscientious conviction; and likewise of a just apprehension of the difficulty of knowing where to stop, if once we begin to give way in such questions, and in such times, as those in which he was conversant. And, if he did think, "that the concerns of religion are to be regulated by principles and maxims—different from those" by which "the common affairs of life" are, in point of fact, at least, usually managed, is he much to be blamed for this opinion?—Luther was not on all occasions thought, either by his friends or his enemies, to be so much a "stranger to the rules of political conduct," as is here supposed: the latter sometimes bring charges of an opposite nature against him.—That either the elector or Luther should have refused to unite with the reformed Swiss, on account of their difference from them on the subject of the eucharist, (I remember no other material article, much less "several essential articles of faith," on which they differed,) must be again lamented, as a humbling instance of the weak-

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ness and obliquity of human nature: but that they should have "refused to enter into any confederacy," for the defence of the protestant religion in Germany, with the king of France, who was permitting, at least, the most bloody persecution of that religion in his own dominions, and had actually conspired with the emperor for its general suppression; or that they should have been unwilling "to solicit the friendship" of the king of England, who, as the elector observed, "sought nothing but his own interest and aggrandisement, had done nothing in the way of reformation, except making himself head of the church in the pope's stead, and at the same time cruelly persecuted pious Christians, and himself lived a flagitious life:"[1]—neither of these circumstances, I think, can be censured or regretted by any one, who considers the exclusive object of the German league, or feels properly for the honour of the sacred cause which it was designed to support.—In these several particulars I must dissent from, or at least materially qualify the sentiments which Dr. Robertson appears to convey.

Further proceedings of the Council.

Concerning the council of Trent little remains, within the period of our present history, to be added to what is already before the reader, respecting its decrees establishing the authority of the apocryphal books, the vulgate version, and traditions. We may state, however, that in the next session the council took into consideration the subject of original sin, and determined, "that the guilt thereof is wholly washed

[1] Seck. iii. 552. However innocent the sense in which the king's majesty is now held to be "the head of the church," (See Church Art. xxxvii,) it appears clear that Henry VIII. meant fully to succeed to the pope's place and prerogative within his own dominions.

away in baptism; that, though in the baptized there remains a disposition to sin, or concupiscence, this is not really sin; and that, when S. Paul calls it so, he does it only because it is the *effect* of sin, and inclines men to sin. Also, that the Virgin Mary is not to be included in this decree, but that concerning her, that is to be held which pope Sixtus IV. had before defined"—who declared all such as should maintain that the blessed Virgin was conceived in original sin, to be excommunicated heretics.[1] A.D. 1546.

With respect to traditions, it may also be remarked, that Claudius Jay, a jesuit, and deputy of the bishop of Augsburg, very prudently and sagaciously laid it down, that, while all traditions concerning matters of faith were universally to be retained, those only concerning *manners* were binding, which still continued to be observed in the church! And his sentence is approved by Pallavicini, who records it.[2]

Persecution of the Waldenses of Provence.

Allusion has been made to the persecutions at this period carried on in France, against those who refused submission to the Roman pontiff. Of the horrid enormities practised on the innocent and interesting Waldenses of Provence, Sleidan has preserved a memorial which may deserve to be in great part transcribed. Of the fact stated concerning them in the close of the first sentence, the reader will not have forgotten the very gratifying proof which has been laid before him in this volume.

"In Provence, in France," says Sleidan, "there is a people called Waldenses, who by an old custom acknowledge not the pope of Rome, have always professed a greater purity of doctrine, and, since Luther appeared, anxiously

[1] Sleid. 377. Maimb. iii. § 33 in Seck. [2] Seck. iii. 597.

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sought after an increase of knowledge. Many times had they been complained of to the king, as despisers of magistrates, and fomenters of rebellion; which envious, rather than true, accusation is by most made use of at this day. They live together in some towns and villages, among which is Merindol. About five years before, sentence had been pronounced against them in the parliament of Aix, the chief judicature of the province, that they should all promiscuously be destroyed, that the houses should be pulled down, the village levelled with the ground, the trees felled, and the place rendered a desert. Now, though this sentence was pronounced, yet it was not then put in execution, William Bellay of Langey, the king's lieutenant in Piemont, with some others, having represented the case to the king as one that ought to be reviewed by himself. But at length, in this year,

1545.

John Meinier, president of the parliament of Aix, having summoned that body together, on the twelfth of April, reads to them the king's letters, which warranted him to carry the sentence into effect. These letters Meinier is said to have obtained by the influence of the cardinal of Tournon, and through the medium of Philip Courtain, a fit agent in such a business. However, having received them in the month of January, he produced them not immediately, but kept them back to a season more proper for the exploit. The letters having been read, some members of the parliament were chosen to see that they were duly complied with; and Meinier offered himself for their assistant, as having, in the absence of Grignian, the governor of the province, the chief administration of affairs. Now, before this time, he had by the king's orders raised forces for the English war; and

these he makes use of for his present purpose. Besides these, he orders all that were able to bear arms at Marseilles, Aix, Arles, and other populous places, to repair to him, on pain of severe penalties in case of disobedience. He had also assistance sent him from Avignon, which is under the dominion of the pope.—His first attack was made, not on the inhabitants of Merindol, but upon the country adjoining the town of Pertuis. On the thirteenth of April, Meinier, attended by a number of gentlemen and officers came to Cadenet. In the mean time some commanders of troops make an irruption into one or two villages situate on the river Durance, and, putting all to fire and sword, plunder and carry away a great many cattle. The like was done also in other places at the same time. The people of Merindol, seeing all in flames around them, leave their habitations, flee into the woods, and pass the night in great consternation at the village of Saintfalaise. The inhabitants of this place were themselves preparing for flight; for the pope's vice-legate, the bishop of Cavaillon, had ordered some captains to fall upon them, and put them to the sword. The next day they advanced further into the woods; for they were beset on all hands with danger, Meinier having made it death for any person to aid or assist them, and commanding them all, without distinction, to be massacred wherever they were found. The same order was in force in the neighbouring places of the pope's jurisdiction; and some bishops of that country were reported to have maintained a great part of the troops employed. The fugitives had, therefore, a tedious and distressing journey, marching with their children on their backs and in their arms, and some in the cradle,

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and poor women also in a state of pregnancy following in the rear. When they had reached the appointed place, whither many in that forlorn condition had fled, they soon had intelligence that Meinier was mustering all his forces that he might fall upon them. This news they learned towards evening. On the receipt of it, having consulted together what was best to be done, they resolve, because the ways were rough and difficult, to leave their wives, daughters, and little children there, with some few to bear them company, (amongst whom was one of their ministers,) and the rest to betake themselves, as had been previously proposed, to the town of Mussi. This they did in the hope that the enemy might shew some compassion towards a helpless and comfortless multitude: but what wailing and lamentation, what groanings and embracings there were at parting, may easily be conceived.—Having marched the whole night, and passed mount Leberon, they had the sad prospect of many villages and farms all in flames. Meinier, in the mean time, having divided his troops into two bodies, sets about his work; and, because he had got intelligence of the place to which the inhabitants of Merindol had betaken themselves, he himself marches to that town, and sends the other division of his troops in pursuit of the fugitives. But, before these were come into the wood, one of the soldiers, moved with pity, runs before, and from the top of a rock, where he judged the poor fugitives might have rested, throws down two stones, calling to them by intervals (though he did not see them,) instantly to fly for their lives: and, at the same moment, two of those who had betaken themselves to Mussi come, and, having got notice of the enemy's approach,

compel the minister of the church, and the rest of those few guards, who, as we said, were left with the women, to begone, having shewn them a steep way through the wood, by which they might escape all danger in their flight. Scarcely had these gone, when the raging soldiers come in, shouting and making a heavy noise, and with drawn swords prepared for the butchery. However, for the present they forbear to kill; but, having committed many acts of insult, and robbed the poor women of all their money and provisions, they carry them away prisoners. They had purposed to have used them still more basely; but a captain of horse prevented it, who by chance coming in threatened them, and commanded them to march directly to Meinier: so that they proceeded no further, but, leaving the women there, who were about five hundred in number, they carried off the cattle and booty. —Meinier in the mean time comes to Merindol, and, finding it deserted, plunders and sets it on fire; first exercising, however, an act of barbarity towards the only person left in the place, a youth, whom he ordered to be bound to an olive tree and shot to death. He marches next to Cabrieres, and begins to batter the town. Through the medium of Captain Poulen, however, he persuades the town's-people, upon promise of safety, to open the gates: but, when that was done, and the soldiers let in, after a little pause, all were put to the sword, without respect to age or sex. Many fled to the church, others to other places, and some into the wine cellar of the castle; but, being dragged out (all but those last named,) into a meadow, and stripped naked, they were murdered without exception of either man or woman. Meinier also shuts up about forty women in a barn full

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of hay and straw, and then sets it on fire: and, when the poor creatures, having attempted, but in vain, to smother the fire with their clothes, which they had stripped off for the purpose, betook themselves to the opening at which the hay used to be taken in, designing to leap out, they were kept in with pikes and spears, till they all perished in the flames. This happened on the twentieth of April.—Meinier after this sends part of his forces to besiege the town of la Coste: but, just as they were beginning their march, those were found, who had fled into the wine-cellar of the castle. A noise being thereupon raised, as if some ambush had been discovered, the soldiers are recalled, and put every man of them to the sword. The number of the slain, in the town and in the fields, amounted to eight hundred. The young infants which survived the massacre were, for the most part, rebaptized by the enemy.—Affairs being thus despatched at Cabrieres, the forces were sent to la Coste. The governor of that town had urged the citizens beforehand to carry their arms into the castle, and in four places to make breaches in their walls; which if they would do, he promised, by his influence with Meinier, to secure them from all injury. They were prevailed upon to comply with his advice, and he set out, apparently to intercede for them. He had not gone far before he met the soldiers; who nevertheless proceeded in their march, and attacked the place. At the first onset they did but little, but the next morning they more briskly renewed the assault; and, having burned all the buildings in the suburbs, easily became masters of the place; and the more so because the night before most of the inhabitants had deserted the town and fled, having let themselves down from

the walls by ropes. After slaughtering all that came in their way, and plundering the town, they rush into the garden adjoining the castle, whither the women and girls had fled in great consternation, and there treat them with such barbarous indecency and cruelty, during the next day and night, that numbers of them shortly after died.—While these things were going on in that quarter, such of the people of Merindol, and others who wandered with them through the woods and over the rocks, as were taken, were either sent to the galleys, or put to death, and many of them died of want.—Not far from the town of Mussi, some five and twenty men had concealed themselves in a cave hollowed out in a rock: but, being betrayed, they were all suffocated with smoke or burned to death. So that no kind of cruelty was abstained from towards these poor people. Some of them, however, who had escaped the massacre, arrived at Geneva and the neighbouring places. A. D. 1545.

"When the news of these sad events reached Germany, it raised great indignation. Those of the Swiss also, who were not of the popish religion, interceded with the French king to shew clemency to such as had fled their country: but he returned them for answer, that he 'had just cause for what he had done; and that what he did within his own territories, or how he punished the guilty, it no more concerned them to inquire, than it did him to intermeddle in their affairs.'

The preceding year, the Waldenses had sent to the king a written confession of their faith, that he might perceive the innocency of their tenets. [1]

[1] Sleid. lib. xvi. 345—348. Seck. iii. 579. The heads of

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On such a scene as this, I will not trust myself to make any observations: they must be superfluous to every reader of common reflection.

Reformation of the Palatinate of the Rhine.

A period like that of which we are writing was not one in which many accessions to the protestant body could be expected. Some, however, are recorded; and, from their taking place under such circumstances, they are entitled to be mentioned with singular honour. We have before related the reformation of the Upper Palatinate, or that of Bavaria. In the year 1545, the Lower Palatinate, or Palatinate of the Rhine, which is of much superior importance, its prince enjoying the electoral dignity, followed the example. Frederick the present elector had married the emperor's niece, the daughter of Christiern king of Denmark. He was a great favourite with the emperor, and had been repeatedly employed by him in his transactions with the protestants: the consequence of which was, very contrary to what had been intended, that he became strongly impressed in favour of their principles. He succeeded his brother Lewis in the year 1544. Like many others, he had indulged the hope that a general reformation, or at least a legal establishment of the reformed religion, would be the result of so many conferences and so much discussion; and he was willing to wait for this happy event. "Finding all these, how-

the confession of faith are given by Sleidan.—Thuanus, who gives (vi. 16.) the same account of this massacre that Sleidan does, says that twenty-two towns and villages were destroyed. He adds, that Francis I. was reported to have given it in charge, a little before his death, to his son Henry to call the parliament of Aix to account for the proceeding; and that one person was put to death for the part he had taken in it.

ever, issue in nothing, he thought himself called, at length, to countenance by his authority the system which he approved, and to gratify the wishes of his subjects, who, by their intercourse with the protestant states, had universally imbibed their opinions." In all this he was materially prompted and aided by his relation and destined successor, Otto Henry, of whom mention has been made in speaking of the other palatinate, and who, being much harassed by the duke of Bavaria, in his own territory, had now taken up his residence at Heidelberg, the capital of Frederick's dominions.[1] Though Frederick, however, adopted the religious principles of the protestants, he did not accede to the league of Smalkald. A. D. 1545.

and of the city of Leutkirk.

The case of Leutkirk, a free imperial city of Suabia, is still more honourable, because its avowal of the principles of the reformation was made in still more perilous times, and notwithstanding formidable opposition, both from persons possessing civil authority in the city, and from powerful ecclesiastical establishments in the neighbourhood. The thirst after evangelical truth appears to have been first excited here by the publication of the Confession of Augsburg, in the year 1530: but it was strenuously resisted by Faber, a native of the place—the same who was afterwards raised to the see of Vienna for his opposition to Luther. By his influence a faction was kept up in the city, which effectually withstood the public reception of the reformation till the year 1546, when the opposition was overborne, not, it must be confessed, without some disorders taking place. Protestantism was then introduced, and, not-

[1] Seck. iii. 616. Sleid. 356.

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withstanding many conflicts and some reverses, has been maintained there to this day.[1]

We now turn again to individual history.

Account of P. P. Vergerio.

We have before intimated that Peter Paul Vergerio, who was for many years a confidential agent of the court of Rome, and for his services was made bishop of Capo d'Istria, in the territory of Venice, eventually became a protestant, and suffered for his religion. The account given of his conversion and subsequent conduct deserves to be here recited, though perhaps his character, and certainly his attainments appear to have been somewhat overrated in our common English biographies.[2]

The last service in which Vergerio was employed by the pope, though under the assumed character of a delegate from the French king, was at the conferences held at Worms in 1540-41,—to frustrate their design, and procure their dissolution; in which objects he succeeded.[3] On his return to Rome, the pope designed to make him a cardinal: but at this time a suspicion was revived, which cardinal Aleander had three years before insinuated, that, by long intercourse with the Germans Vergerio had become too favourably disposed to the Lutheran heresy. Vergerio, being informed by one of the cardinals what had obstructed his advancement, was both surprised and indignant; and, to clear himself of the injurious suspicion, retired to the seat of his own bishopric, to write a book which should bear this title, "Against the Apostates of Germany." But, in order to refute the Lutherans, it was necessary to read their books: and, in doing this, an effect was produced, we may

[1] Seck. iii. 664. [2] Middleton's Biographia Evangelica, &c. [3] Sleid. 272.

assuredly believe, under the influence of divine grace, which Vergerio had little anticipated; he became convinced that the principles he was opposing were true, and founded in scripture. "Laying aside, therefore," says the historian, "all hopes of a cardinal's hat, he went to consult with his own brother, John Baptista, bishop of the neighbouring city of Pola. His brother, alarmed, at first bewailed his condition; but, having at his earnest entreaty applied himself to search the holy scriptures with him, particularly on the great point of justification, he also yielded to conviction, and concluded the popish doctrine to be false. Whereupon, rejoicing in one another, they began to teach the people of Istria, (as the office of a bishop requires,) and to preach up the benefit of Christ to mankind, pointing out, at the same time, what works God requires of us; that so they might bring men over to the true worship of their Maker." But many adversaries arose against them; among whom was especially Hannibal Grisonio, the chief of the inquisition. This man, coming to Pola and Capo d' Istria, rushed into the houses of the citizens, and searched for prohibited books. He then mounted the pulpit, and pronounced all excommunicated who did not inform of persons suspected of Lutheranism, threatening those who did not repent and submit themselves, that they should be burned at the stake.[1] He further openly incited the people to stone Vergerio and his heretical associates, as the true cause of the

A. D. 1545.

[1] "He denounced his threats from door to door every where... Soon after nothing was seen but accusations: every one engaged in them, without regard to consanguinity or gratitude: the wife did not spare her husband, the son his father, or the client his patron." Bayle, Art. *Vergerio.*

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calamities which they had of late years suffered in their olives, their corn, their vines, their cattle, and other goods. Vergerio upon this withdrew to his friend cardinal Hercules Gonzaga, at Mantua; but, being soon given to understand that he could not be harboured there, he betook himself to the council then sitting at Trent, and in which he had a right to appear as a member, designing to justify himself before the assembled fathers. The pope, understanding his design, though he would gladly have made him a prisoner, yet dared not venture upon a step which would have given the Germans such a handle, and so glaringly have impeached the freedom of the council. He contented himself, therefore, with ordering that he should not be admitted into the assembly, or be heard by them. In consequence, after some other removals, he at length took up his abode at Padua. And here there seems reason to suspect that his zeal in some degree abated, even if his determination did not waver, when a very awful occurrence made a salutary impression on his mind.

1546. March.

1548.

Case of Francis Spira.

This was no other than the awful fate of Francis Spira, which every one has seen alluded to, but with the particulars of which few, comparatively, are acquainted. Spira was a lawyer in extensive practice at the bar, who resided at Citadella, not far from Padua. He had embraced the reformed religion with great zeal and earnestness; and, making daily proficiency in the knowledge of its truths, expressed his thoughts concerning the several points of doctrine, with great freedom, both to his friends, and to those generally with whom he conversed. Information of this was conveyed to the pope's legate at Venice, and Spira began to

perceive the danger to which he was exposed, and to revolve with himself what was best to be done. The legate had sent for him, and he determined to obey the summons. Before him he retracted his alleged errors, begged absolution, and promised obedience in future. The legate enjoined him to go home, and make a public recantation. He promised to do so: and, although his conscience reproached him, yet at the solicitation of his friends, who told him that the welfare not only of himself, but of his wife, his children, his estate, and every thing depended upon it, he executed his sinful engagement. But soon after, struck with horror at what he had done, he fell sick both in body and mind, and began to despair of God's mercy. Growing worse and worse, and expressing himself in language too awful to be repeated, concerning his crime and his inevitable damnation, he was removed, for the sake of better advice, from Citadella to Padua. The physicians pronounced his malady to be "the effect of pensiveness and too anxious thought," and recommended, as the best remedy, good discourse and spiritual consolation. Many learned men, therefore, daily visited him, and laboured to relieve his mind by such passages of scripture as exhibit the riches and extent of the mercy of God towards repenting sinners. He told them, that he denied not the truth of all they said, but that these texts belonged not to him, for he was doomed to everlasting pains, because for fear of danger he had abjured the known truth; that these pains he already felt in his mind, and could not love God, but horribly hated him. In this condition he continued, refusing all sustenance, and spitting it out again when forced upon him. Advice and

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counsel, whether of the physician or the divine, being lost upon him, and his bodily infirmity and the anguish of his mind increasing daily, he was taken home again, and there died miserably in all the horrors of despair.—Such examples are happily rare; but they do from time to time occur, presenting a warning, never to be forgotten, that we should not, for any terrors, or for any allurements that a fellow creature can hold out to us, be induced to do violence to our consciences, and thus draw down upon ourselves the wrath of Him who is "able to destroy both body and soul in hell!"[1]

Its effects on Vergerio. 1548.

Among others who frequently visited Spira, while he lay at Padua, was Vergerio: and, whatever might be the success of his endeavours in behalf of the unhappy man, the effect was good with regard to himself. He became more confirmed in the principles he had received, and resolved to leave his native country, and all that he had, and to submit to a voluntary exile, in order to take up his abode in some place where he might safely profess the doctrine of Christ. Accordingly he, a few months afterwards, quitted the country of Bergamo, and went and settled in Switzerland, among the Grisons: and, having for some years preached the gospel there, and in the Valteline, he was invited by Christopher, duke of Würtemberg, to Tubingen, where he passed the remainder of his days. His brother, the bishop of Pola, died before Vergerio left Italy, with the suspicion of having been poisoned:

[1] "Many eminent men saw Spira in the state described, and among them Matthew Gribaldo, a lawyer of Padua, who published a relation concerning him, as did also Vergerio, Sigismond Celon, Polonus, and Henry Scott."—*Sleidan.*

and he himself was, about the time of his removal, deprived of his bishopric by a sentence of the court of Rome. A. D. 1546.

Seckendorf, who, I think, seems to be a little under the influence of prejudice against Vergerio, says that he was of a fickle temper, and was thought in the latter part of his life to be disposed to conciliation on any terms, or even to meditate a return to the ancient rites. However, no such relapse did actually take place, and I trust we may assuredly conclude, that he was of the number of those who have been called out of darkness to behold the light of divine truth, and who, having confessed Christ before men, shall be confessed by him before his Father.—He died October 4, 1566.[1]

History of John Diazius.

In the massacre of the Waldenses of Provence, we have just had an awful proof of the power of a false or perverted religion, which has usurped dominion over men's consciences, to blind their understandings, and to harden their hearts against all the common feelings of humanity. Another instance, if possible, still more horrid, (except that it was on so much more confined a scale,) of its power to triumph over all natural affection, was exhibited about a year afterwards in Germany, and produced at the time a very strong sensation. This was the case of John Diazius.

Diazius was by birth a Spaniard, and, having received a learned education in his own country, removed to the university of Paris, where he passed thirteen years, applying himself principally to theology. His skill in the learned languages, (including the Hebrew,) and his talents and attainments generally, as well as

[1] Sleid. 475—477, and Contin. 62. Seck. iii. 601.

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the virtuous habits of his life, are spoken of in the highest terms. Having met with the writings of Luther, and being indefatigable in the study of the sacred scriptures, he became gradually more and more dissatisfied with the divinity of the Sorbonne. He in consequence left Paris, and repaired first to Geneva, where Calvin then taught, and finally to Strasburg, where he cultivated the acquaintance of Bucer. Bucer, perceiving him to be a man of great learning, and unwearied application, and being otherwise well satisfied with his character, when he himself was deputed to attend the conferences at Ratisbon, petitioned the senate of Strasburg to make Diazius his associate; which was accordingly done. When he came to Ratisbon, Diazius waited upon his fellow countryman Malvenda, whom he had known at Paris, and who, as we have seen, led in the conference on the part of the papists. Malvenda, affecting amazement, expressed his deep regret to see him in those parts, and in the company of protestants, "who," he said, "would triumph more for one Spaniard gained to their party, than for several thousand Germans!" He entreated him, therefore, to regard his reputation, and not bring so foul a blot on his character, his family, and his country. Diazius replied modestly, said a few words in favour of the protestant doctrine, and so at that time took his leave. A few days after, they met again by appointment; and then Malvenda, in a studied harangue, recurring again to the character and claims of their common country, and setting forth the terrors, both temporal and eternal, of a papal excommunication, left no means untried to withdraw him from his present connexions; concluding with the recommendation,

His Interviews with Malvenda.

that he should not venture to wait for the emperor's arrival at Ratisbon, but should set out to meet him, and casting himself at the feet of the emperor's confessor,[1] acknowledge his offence and sue for mercy; in which suit he promised his own endeavours to assist him. Diazius, regarding this professedly friendly advice as insidious, and otherwise moved by what he had heard, replied at considerable length, with great spirit, and with that eloquence which is mentioned as one of his distinguishing endowments. He declared himself ready to meet all dangers, and willing to shed his blood in what he esteemed the most important cause on earth; "for what," said he, "is life without the knowledge of the true religion, but a continual series of unrelieved miseries?" He referred to the declaration of the Saviour, concerning such as should not confess him before men; a declaration which he told Malvenda ought to make him tremble. He wondered that Malvenda should talk to him in the manner he had done concerning the pope's excommunication, which almost every child now knew to be but an empty sound, devised to uphold the tyranny of the court of Rome. The pope, however, might freely, as far as *he* was concerned, assume to himself all the power and all the riches of the world, if only he would allow the people to enjoy the heavenly doctrine, unadulterated and pure. With respect to the state of the whole church in communion with the Roman pontiff, and that of his own country in particular, (of whose stedfast adherence to the faith Malvenda boasted, as rendering Spain the admiration of

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[1] Peter à Soto, a perfidious and sanguinary bigot.

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the world,) he deplored it more than words could express: and he appealed to the conscience of Malvenda for the truth of various particulars, which he enumerated, concerning the clergy and the people. "You," he said, "and those associated with you, effectually shut out of Spain every ray of that divine light, which is now rising upon almost all the world beside." He declared his determination, by the grace of God, to profess and proclaim with his last breath the doctrine which he had embraced: and he solemnly warned Malvenda to reconsider the course he was pursuing, to fear the judgment of God, and to promote, instead of obstructing the progress of his truth.[1]

Malvenda, seeing he was not to be moved, said to him: "It is in vain for you to have come to Ratisbon: nothing will be determined in the conferences here. If you wish to render public service, as you profess to do, go to Trent, where the prelates of the catholic church, assembled in a lawful council, will exert their best endeavours to bring these things to a salutary issue:"—"a speech," says Diazius, "the first sentence of which, 'that nothing would be done at Ratisbon,' convinced me of the hollowness of all the proposals of concord."

The faithful boldness and firmness of Diazius deserve our admiration: but they may be considered as having cost him his life. Malvenda wrote to the emperor's confessor, informing him of all that had passed, and solemnly urged the necessity of "promptly meeting the rising evil." When the letter was received, there happened

[1] Seckendorf gives at length the mutual addresses of Malvenda and Diazius, as taken down from the mouth of the latter, and confirmed by written memorandums which he left behind him.

to be present one Malvina, lately come from Rome. He had been intimately acquainted with Diazius, and being informed of the charges brought against him, he at the time attempted somewhat in his excuse; and, returning home to Rome a few days after, he reported what had passed to Alphonso, the brother of Diazius, a lawyer in that city. Alphonso, struck with what he heard, and perhaps also with letters which had been written to him, immediately set out on his journey, and did not rest till he found his brother at Neuburg, whither he had gone, during the suspension of the conferences, to superintend the printing of a book, which Bucer had in the press there.[1] John, greatly surprised to see him, was soon informed of the cause of his visit, and again assailed with the same arguments which Malvenda had previously employed; but they had no better success than before. Alphonso then held out to him tempting offers, if he would accompany him to Rome: but all in vain. He next therefore changed his plan; and, having suffered some days to elapse, told him that he was himself convinced; and professed to be in love with the gospel, and desirous to promote it: but he represented to his brother that he was thrown away in Germany, where there were so many learned men to uphold the truth: he entreated him, therefore, to go with him into Italy, where he might be of service to multitudes: they would take Trent in the way, where numerous learned persons were assembled, and, after visiting Rome, proceed to Naples; and, if right doctrine were thus disseminated in Italy, it might (he said) be a means of

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His brother Alphonso.

[1] It is said to have been his intention also to print at Neuburg the holy scriptures and other pious books, translated into the Spanish language.

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its spreading into their native country of Spain also. He offered to bear all the expence of the journey.—John, overjoyed at the change, both on his brother's account and his own, wrote to his friends at Ratisbon; who in return advised him by no means to think of the journey: and Bucer, coming to Neuburg on his return from Ratisbon, would not stir from the place till Alphonso had taken his departure. Alphonso therefore prepared to make his journey alone; and, the day before he set out, addressed his brother in the most affectionate manner; exhorted him to constancy, and thought himself most happy in that, through his brother's discourse, he had in a few days made such advances in the right knowledge of God; begged John to write to him from time to time, promised him every service in his power, and forced money upon him even against his will. Thus, with mutual tears, they took their leave, and Alphonso travelled post to Augsburg, thirty-two miles from Neuburg. Having there feed the driver to wait his convenience, he suddenly returned back to Neuburg, on horseback. By the road he purchased an axe of a carpenter, and entered the town by break of day, accompanied by a bloody ruffian, habited as a courier, and made his way directly to his brother's lodgings. Here he put the pretended courier forward, as bearing a letter for John from his brother Alphonso. The man being let in went directly up stairs: and John Diazius being awakened out of his sleep, and told that a post was there from his brother, immediately went out to him into the next room, having only thrown a cloke loosely over him; and while with some difficulty (it being not yet fully light,) he read the letter, which expressed mighty con-

Murder of Diazius. Mar. 27.

cern for his danger, and warned him to beware of Malvenda and other such enemies of the gospel, the assassin, standing behind him, and drawing the axe from under his coat, struck it with such force into his skull, that he literally fell dead without uttering a word! The man then, leaving the axe in the wound, hastened down stairs, and joined Alphonso, who was keeping watch at the bottom; when they set off again together with all speed to Augsburg. The whole was transacted with such silence, that nothing was heard of it, till the rattling of the ruffian's spurs in going down stairs, after the murder, awakened Claude Senarcley, a Savoyard of noble family, who was studying under the direction of Bucer and Diazius, and who happened that night to sleep in the same chamber with Diazius. He, immediately getting up and going into the room, had the horrid spectacle of his murdered friend presented to his sight! A. D. 1546.

The murderers were presently pursued, and were taken at Inspruck: but to the eternal disgrace of Charles V, though there was the fullest proof against them, and though justice was repeatedly demanded of him in this cause by many princes of the empire, they were, through his interposition, never called to account. He first forbad the ordinary magistrates to proceed, declaring that he would hear the cause in the diet: but, when formally called upon to do so, all the reply he made was, that he would advise about it with his brother, within whose territories the accused were now prisoners; and, when Ferdinand was applied to, his answer was still to the same purport![1] Connived at.

[1] Sleid. (xvii.) 365—367, 374. Seck. iii. 652—657.

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This particular account of Diazius we owe to Claude Senarcley, above-mentioned, who published his history, with a preface by Bucer, in the very year, 1546, in which the murder took place. Senarcley bears a pleasing testimony to the devout manner in which Diazius was accustomed to pray, and to his having done so, in his presence, the day before the murder; adding also "that he had passed a considerable part of that very night in extolling the works of God, and in proposing motives to sincere devotedness to him." Seckendorf also gives, from Senarcley, a confession of faith, written by Diazius in a very pious and practical style, and inscribed to Otto Henry, prince palatine. It is probably the same which we are told that Diazius, under a sort of presentiment that he had not long to live, drew up before he set out for Ratisbon.[1]

Maimbourg, it is true, censures this murder as the offspring of "a false zeal in the cause of religion;" but he forbears to say that the murderers were screened from justice; and other catholic historians[2] pass the whole over in silence!

We shall now conclude this chapter with a particular account of the latter days of Luther himself, and thus draw to the close of the present portion of our history.

Latter days of Luther.

Luther completed his sixty-second year in the month of November, 1545; and he did not survive that period so much as three months. For some years previously, he seems scarcely to have written a letter in which he did not anticipate his approaching dissolution; and often his expressions of desire for his dismissal, and for the heavenly rest, are very ardent. Indeed

[1] Seck. iii. 657, 658. [2] As Surius.

he had, in his many and increasing infirmities, sufficient warning that the time of his departure was at hand. He was troubled with excruciating pains in the head, which nearly deprived him of the sight of one eye; his legs swelled, and he suffered severely from the stone. His enemies, however, were not able to wait with patience for an event which could not now be far distant; and a pretended account of his death, as having been accompanied with "a miracle, wrought by God for the honour of Christ, the terror of the wicked, and the comfort of good men," was, in the year 1545, printed and circulated in Italy. The story is so absurd that it hardly deserves to be repeated, except as it may shew what some men were wicked enough to invent, and others weak enough to receive at that time. It set forth that Luther, finding death approaching, had called for the sacrament, and immediately after receiving it had expired: that before his death he had desired that his corpse might be placed upon the altar, and there receive divine honours—which desire, however, had not been complied with: that when his body was interred a tremendous storm arose, which threatened destruction to every thing around, and that the terrified spectators, looking up, saw the host, which the impious man had presumed to receive, hovering in the air: that this having been taken, with great reverence, and deposited in a sacred place, the tempest ceased; but at night returned again with still greater fury: that in the morning, the grave being opened, no vestige of the body could be found, but a horrible stench of brimstone proceeded from the place, by which the health of the bystanders was seriously affected: and that the consequence of all this

A. D 1545.

Fictitious Story of his Death.

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had been, the return of many persons into the bosom of the catholic church.—The paper, containing this account, was brought to Luther, and he caused it to be reprinted, with this addition: "I, doctor Martin Luther, testify under my hand, that I have received this extravagant fiction, this twenty-first day of March, and read it with great pleasure—except for the abominable lies against the Divine Majesty which it contains. It gratifies me exceedingly to find myself so obnoxious to Satan, and to his agents, the pope and papists. May God convert and recover them from the power of the devil! or, if my prayers for them must be in vain, owing to their having committed *the sin unto death*, then may God grant that they may soon fill up their measure, and that they may find their joy and comfort only in writing such tales as this! Let us leave them alone: they go whither they have chosen to go. I shall see whether they can be saved; and how they will repent them of the lies and blasphemies with which they fill the world."

Luther's Remarks upon it.

When the falsehood and folly of this story appeared, some of the papists endeavoured to father it upon Luther himself, or some of his adherents: but original documents are still preserved at Weimar, which accompanied the paper, as transmitted to the elector of Saxony, and by him communicated to Luther, and which give evidence that it had been printed at Naples and many other places. [1]

His state of mind.

It would certainly have been highly gratifying to record, that in the closing period of Luther's life the ruggedness of his temper had been softened down, and that his latter days were passed only in peace and love. Fidelity how-

[1] Seck. iii. 680.

ever, requires us to acknowledge, that painful traces of asperity still occasionally appear, and that inflamed, and at the same time partially, though only partially, excused by the irritability produced by age and growing infirmities. The sacramental controversy still vexed him, and he was not a little displeased at Melancthon, for being less severe than himself in his judgment of the Zuinglians. The elector, however, successfully interposed, through Pontanus, to compose this difference. But several other things in the state of Wittemberg much disturbed his mind; particularly the corruption of manners, and the number of clandestine marriages contracted by the students, which, being confirmed by the legal authorities, (who still acted upon the pontifical regulations concerning such subjects,) threatened to be very injurious to the university itself. Luther, in consequence, rather suddenly left Wittemberg, and went to Leipsic; visited George of Anhalt at Mersburg, Amsdorf at Naumburg, and other friends; and was not at all inclined to return home—urging that this was "the last year of his life, and he wished to pass it at a distance from scenes which disquieted him." Much allowance is certainly due to an aged man, who had passed such a life of labour and conflict as Luther had done, and now, in the midst of many personal afflictions, sought repose. His indisposition to return was, however, overcome. The elector wrote to him with exquisite tenderness and prudence:[1] the university likewise addressed him; and he yielded to their united entreaties. Indeed it seems clear from this, and from what are known

A. D. 1545.

[1] Seckendorf gives the elector's letter in the original German, but he would not venture to translate it, from the conviction that he could not do it justice.

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to have been the closing occupations of his life, that his dejection and discontent were but transient—the passing shade rather than the settled colour of his mind; the usual tone and temper of which he ere long recovered. [1]

His conduct in a case of supposed Possession.

Maimbourg here introduces a story to demonstrate that Luther was "no apostle, though he wished to be thought one," which has been adopted also by Surius and Raynaldus, after having been abandoned by Cochlæus, the malignant collector of every thing that might injure the reputation of Luther. It would not of itself deserve notice: but it may furnish an additional opportunity of shewing the good sense and propriety which marked the reformer's conduct. Maimbourg's statement is in these words: "Luther, having at this time attempted to eject a demon from a possessed girl, was driven to the most disgraceful extremities by the evil spirit, who, shutting the door, rushed upon him, and threw him into the greatest alarm, wishing (volebat) to make him an object of ridicule, and to shew to all the world that miracles cannot be wrought out of the (true) church." The advocate of the papacy is welcome to all the advantage of this exclusive claim of miracles, as also to the good "wishes" of Satan in behalf of that claim, and to his ill wishes to Luther: and the story might be safely left to its own merits. But the reader shall have the true account of Luther's conduct, both in this and another similar case; in the former from the archdeacon of Wittemberg, Froschelius, who was an eye-witness. "A girl of eighteen years of age, said to be harassed by the devil, was brought to Luther. He bid her

[1] Seck. iii. 580—583

repeat the creed. When she came to the words, 'And in Jesus Christ our Lord,' she stopped, and was excessively agitated: on which Luther said, 'Satan, I see through thy designs: thou wouldst have me here set about an exorcism, all in due form; but I will not do it.'—The next day she was brought into the church while Luther was preaching, and, after service, into the vestry, where she fell on the ground with violent contortions. She was raised up by those present; and Luther then addressed the people, observing to them that miracles were not now to be expected; that the church being once established did not need them: nor was recourse to be had to the popish ceremonial provided for such occasions: rather they ought to pray against the evil spirit, and then despise his violence. Nor were the terms and manner of affording relief to be prescribed: that would be tempting God: they must persevere in praying, and patiently wait his time. He himself then put his hand on the head of the girl, recited the creed, the Lord's prayer, and some passages of scripture; and, touching her with his foot, and repeating his sentiment concerning the devil's wish to have him attempt a miracle, he added, 'I know that thy head is bruised, and that thou art put under Christ's feet:' and so he left the afflicted person, who is said not to have been afterwards disturbed.[1]" A. D. 1545.

In a letter written in the year 1545, and inserted by Strobelius in his collection, Luther directs Scultetus, pastor in Belgern, to act, in a similar case, precisely as he himself is here stated to have done, and as he there speaks of having done, and successfully done, on former occa-

[1] Seck. iii. 632, 633.

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sions.[1] He in that letter styles the disorder "mania," but ascribes it to Satanic influence.

The other case occurred ten years before, near Francfort; but Luther was consulted upon it. Here a girl, considered as possessed, was said, among other extraordinary things, to fill her mouth with pieces of money, and to masticate and swallow them. Luther shrewdly suggests, that in the first place the fact ought to be accurately ascertained, that she really did so, and that no fraud was practised. I should like, he says, to know "whether the money *would pass in the market:* for I find so much artifice and imposture as compels me to be incredulous." Then, supposing the case to be as stated, he would have prayer to be perseveringly offered for her, and the insolence of Satan set at naught; and this, he doubts not, would in due time prove successful. But he would have no exorcism attempted: that did but give advantage to Satan and his agents. He somewhat sarcastically observes, however, that the poor girl was but an apt emblem of many princes and great men, who "gorged themselves with money from all quarters, without being at all the better for it."[2]

Different accounts of his closing scene.

As the enemies of Luther had spread the most extravagant accounts of his death, before that event had actually taken place, so after its occurrence they failed not to adorn it with such circumstances as they thought most likely to injure his memory, and to obstruct the reception of his doctrines. Maimbourg confesses, that, while one party had represented him as dying the death of an eminent saint, the other had made him die like a beast, without any

[1] Strobel. No 232?

[2] Seck. iii. 136.

sense of God, and after having eaten and drunk to excess. For himself, however, he professes that he will here, as on other occasions, avoid prejudices and extremes, and deliver a fair and impartial account. Accordingly he states very jejunely, in a few lines, the circumstances of Luther's journey to Mansfeld, his labours there, and his dying suddenly, of apoplexy, or somewhat of that kind, after having supped and conversed cheerfully with his friends: and he concludes the whole with saying, "Thus died Luther, with very little ceremony, in the sixty-third year of his age." The pious Seckendorf, noticing the oddity of the expression, ("avec peu de cérémonie,") and having given the true narration, remarks, "As an old man, that has exceeded the years of Luther's age, and is daily threatened with the last stroke, I may be allowed to say, that never would I wish to die a more *ceremonious* death!"—But we turn to better accounts, which we have in the most authentic form, both as transmitted immediately after the reformer's decease to the elector of Saxony; as inserted, with the most solemn asseverations of their correctness, in his printed works, under the signatures of Justus Jonas, Michael Cœlius, and John Aurifaber; and as confirmed by other documents preserved in the Saxon archives. A. D. 1546.

All the circumstances of Luther's visit to Eisleben, where, as he had first drawn breath, so he ended his days, appear to have been highly honourable to him. The country of Mansfeld is a mining district, and its copper and silver mines had of late years been more productive than formerly. This, however, only excited the cupidity of its sovereigns and their courtiers, who wished to appropriate a larger share of the His journey to Eisleben.

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proceeds to themselves. This occasioned discord between them and the people. The counts moreover, who were partly catholic and partly protestant, had differences between themselves: and both these sources of variance threatened serious consequences. Luther, who thought his countrymen oppressed, had been invited over by one of the counts the year before, to use his influence and afford his advice for the settlement of the disputes, and he had obeyed the call, though without succeeding in his object. Now, however, the invitation was renewed by common consent, and consequently with better prospects of success. Luther therefore determined, with the elector's consent, again to undertake the service, though the state of his health, and the winter season might well have excused him. Six days before he set out, he thus spoke of himself in a letter to the pastor of Bremen: "I am old, decrepit, sluggish, weary, spiritless, and blind of an eye: yet, at a time ere which I very reasonably hoped to have been removed to my rest by death, as if I had never managed, or written, or spoken, or done any thing before, I am quite overwhelmed with writing, and speaking, and doing, and managing all sorts of things."

He left Wittemberg on the twenty-third of January, accompanied by his three sons. The weather was inclement, and he was detained three days at Halle, by the rising of the river, which he was obliged to cross in a boat, not without some danger. During his stay at Halle he preached for Justus Jonas, who was superintendent there, and who attended him the remainder of his journey. On his arrival on their borders, the counts of Mansfeld received him with an escort of more than a

hundred horse—treating him as the elector of Saxony's ambassador. Maimbourg makes him to have been saluted at Eisleben with the firing of cannon: but Seckendorf observes that there is no mention of this circumstance in the despatches that are preserved, and that it is not probable that there were any cannon at Eisleben. He was extremely weak, and seemed near death when he reached count Albert's on the twenty-eighth of January; but medicine, friction, warmth, and other means of resuscitation revived him. He lost no time in entering upon the business which had brought him thither, and laboured indefatigably in the despatch of it, for three weeks together; being assisted by Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, count Swartzburg, and others: but his success was not such as he could have wished. The ecclesiastical patronage, however, was settled; John Spangenberg appointed superintendent, instead of Simon Wolferinus, who dissented from the Lutherans on the subject of the eucharist. An ecclesiastical constitution for the county of Mansfeld, drawn up by Guttelius, was also considered and approved. Luther moreover preached here repeatedly, and the substance of his sermons was afterwards published.

A. D. 1546.

His employments.

In the mean while his health was declining. Some time before, he had had a seton or issue opened in his leg, which had been the means of so much relieving his head, that he had been able to walk to church and to the lecture room, and to mount the pulpit, whereas previously he was obliged to be conveyed in a carriage, and often could only preach to his family at home:—for his zeal seems never to have suffered him to be entirely silent. But, on leaving Wittemberg for Eisleben, he had failed to take

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with him the applications used for keeping up the discharge, and, amid the pressure of his present engagements, this relief was neglected; which proved of bad consequence.[1]

Thus matters proceeded till the seventeenth of February, Luther at all proper times applying himself to business, eating and sleeping well, and being very cheerful in his conversation. On that day, his friends, perceiving more repose to be desirable for him, persuaded him to keep quiet in his study; which he did, frequently walking up and down, in an undress, but conversing with animation. "From time to time," says Justus Jonas, "he would stop, and looking out at the window, in that attitude (as his custom was,) address fervent prayers to God, so that I and Cœlius, who were in the room with him, could not but perceive it: and then he would say, 'I was born and baptized here at Eisleben; what if I should remain or even die here?'" Another of his friends, Razeberg, the elector's physician, has preserved one of the prayers, as it would seem, which he thus offered while walking up and down in his study. It is in the following terms—principally referring to the religious interests of his native country: "O Lord God, heavenly Father, I call upon thee in the name of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, imploring that, according to thy promise, and for the glory of thy name,

His devotions.

[1] This was the opinion of his physician, Razeberg, Seck. iii. 65; and Luther appears to have been sensible of its truth; for, writing to Melancthon only four days before his death, though he speaks of hastening to return home in compliance with the elector's request, "rather satiated than satisfied" with the result of his journey, he says: "Tamen cura, ut mihi accurrat nuntius, qui afferat modicum coercivæ, qua cres meum aperiri solet. Nam pene totum sanatum est vulnus, quod quam periculosum sit nosti." In Strobel. p. 29.

thou wouldest graciously hear the prayers which I offer up unto thee, beseeching thee that, as thou hast of thy mercy and boundless goodness, discovered to me the great apostacy and blindness of the pope before the day of thy last advent, which is at hand, and is to succeed that diffusion of the light of the gospel which now dawns upon the world; so thou wouldest graciously preserve the church of my beloved country in the acknowledgment of the truth, and the unwavering confession of thy uncorrupted word, without failing, even to the end; that the whole world may know that thou hast sent me for this very purpose. Even so, O most blessed Lord God! Amen and amen!" A. D. 1546.

Though, however, Luther passed the day in his study, he did not choose to sup there, but in the large dining room; observing, that "to be solitary did not help the spirits." During supper, he quoted and made observations on many interesting passages of scripture. The conversation also happening to turn on the question, whether the righteous would recognise those who had been their friends on earth, in a future state of blessedness, he gave his opinion decidedly in the affirmative. In the course of more ordinary conversation, he remarked, "If I can but establish peace among the counts, the rulers of my country, I will then go home, lay myself down in my coffin, and give my body for food to the worms."

His Death.

Before supper he had complained of a pain in the chest, to which he was subject. It was, however, relieved by warm applications. After supper it returned; but he would not have medical aid called in, but about nine o'clock lay down on a couch and fell asleep. He awoke as the clock struck ten, and desired that those about

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him would retire to rest. When led into his chamber he said, "I go to rest with God;" and repeated the words of the Psalm, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit, &c:" and, stretching out his hand to bid all good night, he added, "Pray for the cause of God." He then went to bed: but about one o'clock he awoke Jonas and another who slept in the room with him, desired that a fire might be made in his study, and exclaimed, "Oh God! how ill I am! I suffer dreadful oppression in my chest: I shall certainly die at Eisleben!"—He then removed into his study without requiring assistance, and again repeating, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit!" He walked backwards and forwards, and desired to have warm cloths brought him. In the mean time his physicians were sent for, as also count Albert, who presently came with his countess. All Luther's friends and his sons were now collected about him: medicines were given him, and he seemed somewhat relieved; and having lain down on a couch he fell into a perspiration. This gave encouragement to some present: but he said, "It is a cold sweat, the forerunner of death: I shall yield up my spirit." He then began to pray, nearly in these words: "O eternal and merciful God, my heavenly Father, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and God of all consolation! I thank thee that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ; in whom I have believed, whom I have preached, whom I have confessed, whom I love and worship as my dear Saviour and Redeemer, whom the pope and the multitude of the ungodly do persecute, revile, and blaspheme. I beseech thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul! O heavenly Father, though I be snatched out of this life,

though I must now lay down this body, yet know I assuredly that I shall dwell with thee for ever, and that none can pluck me out of thy hands!"—He then thrice again repeated the words, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit! Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth!" Also those words, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life:" and that verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm, "Our God is the God of whom cometh salvation: God is the Lord by whom we escape death." He then became silent, and his powers began to fail him: but, when several present addressed him, "Reverend father, you die in the constant confession of Christ and his doctrine, which you have preached?" he distinctly answered, "Yes," and spoke no more; but, about a quarter of an hour afterwards, between two and three o'clock in the morning, "with his hands clasped together, and without a finger or a feature being disturbed, gently breathed his last." A. D. 1546. Feb. 18.

Such is the account which Justus Jonas, under the impulse of present feeling, and without even time for artful colouring, (had he been capable of employing it,) wrote to the elector of Saxony, by the hand of count Albert's secretary, within an hour after Luther's death,—except that in a few passages some things are supplied from the fuller narrative which was drawn up for insertion in Luther's German works, and authenticated by the above-mentioned signatures of Justus Jonas, superintendent of Halle, and formerly rector of the university of Wittenberg, Michael Cœlius, pastor of Eisleben, and John Aurifaber, chap

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lain to the elector of Saxony, all of whom were present with Luther to the last. [1]

Thus died in peace the man, who, bearing no higher office than that of an Augustinian monk, and afterwards of a protestant professor of divinity, had shaken to its centre one of the most firmly-seated systems of despotism and delusion that the world ever beheld; who had provoked, and for nearly thirty years together defied, the utmost malice of those mighty powers, which had a little time before made the proudest monarchs to tremble on their thrones; while, for the suppression of his principles, diet after diet of the German empire, aided by the representatives of the papal authority, met in vain. His hand had been against every man that was engaged on the side of reigning error, and every such man's hand against him; yet not one of them could touch a hair of his head to his hurt: he lived and died unharmed, not only "in the presence of all his brethren," but in despite of all his enemies. So marvellous is the providence of God; so inexhaustible is his store of means for accomplishing "all his pleasure;" and so secure, under all circumstances, is the man over whom the shield of his protection is extended.

His funeral.

Count Albert would gladly have retained the body of Luther, and interred it in the country which gave it birth: but he submitted to the wishes of the elector, who directed it to be

[1] Dr. Robertson pronounces the disease, of which Luther died, "a violent inflammation of the stomach;" but it would seem rather to have been a chronic than an acute complaint. Melancthon, on the authority of some of the medical men, calls it, "καρδιαγμὸν, dolorem, seu morsum et rosionem ventriculi, aut potius ejus orificii." Seck. iii. 635.

conveyed to Wittemberg. Jonas's letter having been despatched at four o'clock in the morning of the eighteenth of February, the elector's pleasure was signified on the evening of the same day, by the return of the courier from Weimar. The next day, therefore, the corpse was solemnly conveyed, with the singing of hymns, and attended by all the counts of Mansfeld and a numerous procession of persons of high rank, to the church of S. Andrews at Eisleben, to be deposited there till preparations were made for its removal. On this occasion Justus Jonas delivered an address to the assembled multitudes, from the latter part of the fourth chapter of the first epistle to the Thessalonians. On the twenty-first, Cœlius preached from the opening of the fifty-seventh chapter of Isaiah, "The righteous perisheth, &c;" and after the sermon the body was removed, amid an immense concourse of people, and conveyed with a splendid procession as far as Halle. Hither people flocked from all parts of the country to meet it, and it was received at the gates by the senators, ministers, and all the principal persons of the place. It was deposited for the night in the church of S. Mary, where, says the writer of the narrative, the hundred and thirtieth Psalm was "expressed, not so much by singing, as by the tears and sobs of the whole people." Early the next day the procession set forward towards Wittemberg, and was met on the road by a deputation sent by the elector to receive it. It rested that night at Kemberg, and on the twenty-third of February reached Wittemberg. When it approached the gate of the city, the rector, the professors, and the students of the university, with all the principal citizens, met and joined

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the procession; after which it advanced, attended by the whole population, to the church of the citadel (All Saints). The widow of Luther, with her daughter and some other female attendants, her three sons, Melancthon, Jonas, Bugenhagius, Cruciger, and other intimate friends of the deceased, took their place immediately after the corpse. So great an assemblage of persons is said never to have been seen before at Wittemberg. Suitable hymns were sung as the funeral proceeded through the streets of the city. On arriving at the church, the coffin was placed on the right hand of the pulpit; whence, after some further verses had been sung, Bugenhagius delivered an appropriate discourse to several thousands of persons. Melancthon then pronounced a funeral oration,[1] both expressive of his own affection, and calculated to soothe the sorrows of the bereaved church: after which the body was committed to the tomb, hard by the spot from which the reformer had preached so many animated and devout sermons before the electors and dukes of Saxony, and the whole church.[2]

Such is the account given of the funeral, by the same persons to whom we are indebted for the narrative of Luther's closing scene. The pomp of his funeral is much carped at by Cochlæus, Maimbourg, and other popish writers. The former is reminded by his *tin* coffin of the *iron* one of Mahomet, and in *that* finds an image of the hardened heart and front of Luther. The latter asserts, without any foundation in fact, that the elector raised to his memory a monument of white marble, surrounded with the statues of the twelve apostles

[1] See Seck. iii. 647—650. [2] Ibid 643—645.

—intending to intimate that Luther was "a thirteenth, to be added to their number." But it is as unnecessary as it would be nauseating to retail, for the purpose of exposing them, all the cavils of such writers, in which it is hard to say whether folly or malignity preponderates.[1] A. D. 1546.

Cochlæus censures the secular, or, as he is pleased to call it, the "profane" employment in which Luther ended his days: but we may much more justly adopt the sentiments of Seckendorf: "He was well prepared for death; and, as his writings and conversation shewed, had been long desiring and praying for it: and he ended his days in the pious and honourable discharge of business of high importance" to the peace and the liberties of his native country. "In the midst of this business he found leisure for daily and fervent prayer. In the short and busy time which he spent at Eisleben," notwithstanding all his infirmities, "he preached three or four times, and twice received the sacrament," after confession and absolution.[2] He died after cheerful and pious

[1] The reader may take the following specimens of Cochlæus's censures. Luther, lamenting the mortality of mankind, and the various evils which they often bring upon one another, had said, "The human race are as sheep for the slaughter." (Compare Psalm xliv. 11. and Rom. viii. 36.) This is, in Cochlæus's judgment, a contradiction of the apostle's declaration, that "God would have all men to be saved!" Again: Luther, a few days before his death, had written in the Bible of a friend some animating observations on the text, "If any man keep my saying, he shall never see death," subscribing his name to them. Cochlæus from this takes occasion to say, that Luther's friends "wished it to be believed, that he, like Enoch, Elijah, and S. John, never died, but was translated: but that the contrary is attested by many who saw his dead carcase, stinking enough!"—Seck. iii. 637, 639.

[2] Just. Jonas.

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conversation with his friends, with his sons and several illustrious persons of both sexes standing round him, and waiting upon him, and after a conflict of only a few hours, which he sustained in a becoming manner, and came off *more than conqueror*. His age, though not very advanced, was what comparatively few attain. His own observation upon this subject, made at the supper table the very night of his death, was remarkable: 'If a child of a year old dies, very likely, taking all the world over, a thousand or two thousand of the same age depart with him: but when I, an old man of sixty-three, die, scarcely sixty or a hundred, as far advanced in years, will accompany me.'"[1]

Sensation produced by his death.

The news of Luther's death excited the deepest grief in all quarters among the friends of the reformation, which was strikingly expressed in the correspondence of many eminent persons with the elector of Saxony. Amsdorf, bishop of Naumburg, declared himself not only distressed, but quite alarmed at his removal at such a period. "He feared," he said, "that it was the forerunner of judgments, which it had pleased God to spare this his distinguished servant the pain of beholding:" and many others wrote in the same strain.[2]

The heads of the university of Wittemberg, in reply to a letter which the elector had addressed to them, announcing the sad event, and exhorting them not to be discouraged, but to persevere in their studies and pursuits, spoke of themselves as both "distressed and terrified." "We are now," say they, "orphans, bereaved and solitary. The divine will, however, must be obeyed; and we must rest on the con-

[1] Seck. iii. 635, 636.

[2] Ibid. 646, 651.

solatory promises of the Son of God, *I will not leave you orphans—Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.* We implore him to be the pilot of his own vessel, and to protect and guide your highness. We acknowledge ourselves bound *to keep that which is committed unto us.* A precious deposit indeed our departed father has left us, in the knowledge of the pure doctrine of Christ: we desire to transmit it untarnished to posterity; and implore the grace of God to enable us to do so." [1] A. D. 1546.

Luther left three sons and one daughter. The elector of Saxony and the counts of Mansfeld provided for his widow and family. His children appear all to have done credit to their father's memory, and his son Paul, in particular, became eminently distinguished in the medical profession. He was also a faithful supporter of his father's principles. His biography is to be found in Melchior Adam's Lives of German Physicians. From him the family was propagated, and continued respectable, both for character and situation, through several generations.[2]

To this account of Luther we may subjoin a brief notice of his highly valued friend and fellow labourer, Frederick Myconius, pastor and superintendant of Gotha, who survived him only about six weeks. It is taken from a letter which he wrote to Rorarius, on the twenty-fifth of January, "the day," as he expresses it, "on which the scales fell from the eyes of S. Paul." Fred. Myconius.

[1] Seck. iii. 647.

[2] Ibid. 647, 651, 652. The last lineal descendant whom I have seen mentioned, Martin Gottlob Luther, died at Dresden, 1759.—Life of Luther by Kortz.

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"My dear Rorarius, I am again so ill as to keep my bed. Not only my voice, but all my bodily powers are greatly reduced. Having been on a former occasion brought back from the borders of the grave, by the messages, the letters, and the prayers of our revered father, Luther,[1] I have now lived six years in weakness, and almost in a dying state. I discharged the duties of a living man, and performed, as well as I could, the services of the Lord's house, till the fourth Sunday in advent, when, finding the symptoms of my disease returning upon me, I exhorted the church, with the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and with all the ardour of which I was capable, to remove all hindrances and *prepare the way of the Lord* in their hearts. I afterwards fell sick, and now lie here silent and satiated with life, so as to wish rather to die, than to live when I can be of no use. I have written to our reverend father, Luther, who has been the person that has hitherto detained me, (and willingly I have been detained to serve the Lord and assist him, instructing the church, as a mother, herself languid and fainting, admonishes her children,) that if I could, and the Lord should give me strength, I should be willing to continue my services; but, as this seems unlikely, to beg that he would dismiss me with his parting blessing. I desire, however, that the will of the Lord, and not mine may be done. All things depend on his will—sickness, weakness, recovery: and conformity with his will is our highest gain. Yet, if it might please him, oh how gladly should I be dissolved, and be with Christ, rather than live here a dumb and useless

[1] Above, pp. 335, 336.

burden.—Through the complaint in my throat, I can scarcely take either meat or drink: yet I delight myself with the heavenly manna: and, as I lay on my bed, I have just been reading the psalm, *Wherefore do the heathen rage, &c.* and adoring the *child given unto us!* Blessed be God, who so refreshes me in the midst of my pains that I quite forget that I am ill! O Lord Jesus, what can we render unto thee? what return can we make to thy wise and faithful servant, (Luther,) whom thou hast set over thy family, that by him thou mightest thus feed us with thy word?—Farewel, my dear Rorarius: and, if you hear that I am committed to the grave, be assured that nothing is buried but my skin and bones, my sins, and the old man, that he may be perfectly delivered from the poison of the devil, from sin and death. But the inner man, who is renewed from day to day, who lives in Christ that *loved me and gave himself for me*, and with whom my life is *hid in God*—that *as he lives so we should live also:* the new man, I say, shall never die, but shall enjoy the life of everlasting rest and peace, far from all the perturbations of this world. If ministers be removed, Christ will raise up pastors, doctors, apostles, for the increase of his body the church, and will be ever with you. Ah Lord Jesus, preserve, govern, strengthen, deliver, and defend all thy faithful servants! Amen and amen!—Remember me to Cruciger and Eber.[1] Pontanus, who visits me daily, salutes you. Fail not to write to me, and do not plead your many engagements. My complaints would have hindered me, if I would have suffered them: but I have risen in

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[1] Paulus Eberus, a professor at Wittemberg.

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spite of them to write this; and now return to my bed. May pain and disease do whatever God hath bidden them! Let them not spare, for *in the midst of wrath he remembers mercy*, and *with every temptation makes a way to escape*. Again, farewel!"[1]—Myconius died on the seventh of April, following.

[1] Seck. iii. 629, 630.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARACTER OF LUTHER—HIS LATER WRITINGS.

THE character of Luther has been delineated by so many hands, its features are so marked and prominent, and he is himself now so fully before the readers of the "History of the Church of Christ," in all his modes of thinking, feeling, and acting, from first to last, that I should esteem it superfluous to attempt anew any elaborate description of his various endowments, whether of the understanding or of the heart. It may be of more real service to bring under review the parting estimate formed of him by one of our most popular, and at the same time most judicious writers. The historian of Charles V. will likewise be less suspected of partiality for the great reformer, than either Dr. Milner or myself: yet he will be found to confirm, in many important particulars, the sentiments expressed concerning him throughout the work which I have now, according to my humble ability, brought down to the close of his course. What may appear to me erroneous in Dr. Robertson's summary, I shall endeavour to correct, and to supply any thing material which I think to be wanting.

Dr. Robertson's character of Luther.

"As Luther was raised up by providence," Dr. Robinson says, "to be the author of one of the greatest and most interesting revolutions

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recorded in history, there is not any person perhaps whose character has been drawn with such opposite colours. In his own age, one party, struck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they saw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be sacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a demon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude, which they thought he merited as the restorer of light and liberty to the Christian church, ascribed to him perfections above the condition of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that, which should be paid only to those who are guided by the immediate inspiration of heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undistinguishing censure, or the exaggerated praise of his contemporaries, that ought to regulate the opinions of the present age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies must allow him to have possessed them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity and even austerity of manners, as became one who assumed the character of a reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered; and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the church to his disciples, remaining satisfied

himself in his original state of professor in the university, and pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to these offices. His extraordinary qualities were alloyed with no inconsiderable mixture of human frailty and human passions. These, however, were of such a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but seem to have taken their rise from the same source with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, roused by great objects, or agitated by violent passions, broke out, on many occasions, with an impetuosity which astonishes men of feebler spirits, or such as are placed in a more tranquil situation. By carrying some praiseworthy dispositions to excess, he bordered sometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which exposed him to censure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded approached to arrogance; his courage in asserting them, to rashness; his firmness in adhering to them, to obstinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adversaries, to rage and scurrility. Accustomed himself to consider every thing as subordinate to truth, he expected the same deference for it from other men; and, without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth, against such as disappointed him in this particular, a torrent of invective mingled with contempt. Regardless of any distinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chastised all his adversaries indiscriminately, with the same rough hand: neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII, nor the eminent learning and abilities of Erasmus, screened them from the

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same gross abuse with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

"But these indecencies, of which Luther was guilty, must not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged in part on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with those maxims, which, by putting continual restraint on the passions of individuals, have polished society, and rendered it agreeable, disputes were managed with heat, and strong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reserve or delicacy. At the same time, the works of learned men were all composed in Latin, and they were not only authorized, by the example of eminent writers in that language to use their antagonists with the most illiberal scurrility; but, in the dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appeared less shocking than in a living language, whose idioms and phrases seem gross, because they are familiar.

"In passing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them upon the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear most culpable, gave no disgust to his contemporaries. It was even by some of those qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accomplishing the great work which he undertook. To rouse mankind, when sunk in ignorance or superstition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry armed with power, required the utmost vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to excess. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor

have excited those to whom it must have been addressed. A spirit more amiable, but less vigorous than Luther's, would have shrunk back from the dangers which he braved and surmounted. Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witness of his own amazing success; to see a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to shake the foundation of the papal throne, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled; he discovered, on some occasions, symptoms of vanity and self-applause. He must have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accomplished, he had never felt any sentiment of this kind arising in his breast. A. D. 1546.

"Some time before his death, he felt his strength declining, his constitution being worn out by a prodigious multiplicity of business, added to the labour of discharging his ministerial function with unremitting diligence, to the fatigue of constant study, besides the composition of works as voluminous as if he had enjoyed uninterrupted leisure and retirement. His natural intrepidity did not forsake him at the approach of death; his last conversation with his friends was concerning the happiness reserved for good men in a future life, of which he spoke with the fervour and delight natural to one who expected and wished to enter soon upon the enjoyment of it. The account of his death filled the Roman catholic party with excessive, as well as indecent joy, and damped the spirit of all his followers; neither party sufficiently considering that his doctrines were now so firmly rooted, as

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to be in a condition to flourish independent of the hand which first had planted them."[1]

Remarks.

The enumeration here made, both of the excellencies and of the defects of the reformer's character, must be acknowledged to be, in the main, and as far as it goes, just. On what ground, indeed, "austerity of manners" is ascribed to him, I am not aware. His disposition was eminently social: he enjoyed conversation, and seems to have been very much the life of the company in which he allowed himself to mingle. Even Maimbourg admits that, "when he did not give way to anger, he was of a very cheerful temper, and joked freely:"[2] and Dr. Milner thinks that he even carried hilarity to excess.—"Purity and sanctity of life," and "perfect disinterestedness," are, I am persuaded, attributed to him with entire propriety, notwithstanding the attempts made, by the perversion of some detached passages in his writings, to charge the contrary upon him.—That "malevolence," or any real ill will, even towards the objects of his severest censure, is not to be imputed to him, I think will be apparent to every candid student of his history and his writings. He spoke out all the sentiments of his heart, concerning both the principles and the conduct of those whom he opposed, often with very culpable asperity of language: but present the most virulent of his enemies to his mind in circumstances which called for compassion, and his bowels yearned over them. Witness his letter to the wretched Tetzel, when he heard of the despair in which he was ending his days. I am convinced that, with all his impetuosity and exterior harshness, he was a man of a warm

[1] Robertson iii. 309—315.

[2] In Seck. iii. 632.

and even tender heart. And in this connexion we ought by no means to overlook that freedom from a persecuting spirit and persecuting principles, which Dr. Milner has shewn to have formed his honourable distinction above almost all his brother reformers. [1] A. D. 1546.

While, however, we would cordially agree with Dr. Robertson in not imputing even "the mixture of human frailty and human feelings," in Luther's character, to "malevolence" or, in the common sense of the word, to "corruption of heart;" we cannot, with him, trace these evils to "the same source with many of his virtues." If by this any thing more be meant, than that his faults often sprang from his good qualities being unduly exercised, or carried to a culpable excess; if it really mean, that a fountain may "send forth at the same place both sweet water and bitter;" [2] it must be acknowledged to be highly objectionable: but, as bearing only that qualified sense which we have supposed, it may be sufficient to say of the passage, that, while the sentiment may not be incorrect, the mode of expressing it is very exceptionable.

That Luther treated Erasmus with "the same gross abuse as Tetzel or Eccius," is a very overcharged statement. He shewed much forbearance towards that learned man; bestowed great pains to conciliate, or at least to avoid alienating him; and always, I think, considerably tempered his language towards him. [3]—For the coarseness and severity of his language towards Henry VIII, he himself afterwards apologized: and there is much justness in the considerations which Dr. R. proposes in extenuation of these

[1] Milner, v. 78, 87, 94, 159, 209, 499, 500, 501. (650, 660, 668, 737, 794, 1098, 1100.) [2] James iii. 11.

[3] Above, pp. 166, 167; and Milner, v. c. xii.

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faults of too many of his writings. Yet after all, as Dr. Milner has justly observed, neither the language itself nor the temper of mind which dictated it (a violent, though not a malignant temper,) is to be excused. They formed the greatest blemish of Luther's character.—The simple fact, of his "expecting from men a deference for truth," which should lead them "to consider every thing as subordinate to it," we can never regard as implying an erroneous estimate of things; though we would offer no apology for any "invective" or "contempt," into which the disappointment of such expectation might betray him.

The *largeness* of mind, which rendered Luther, in general, quite indifferent about trifling objects, while he would concede nothing to any man in points which he esteemed to be of real importance, has frequently called, and, in what yet remains to be noticed of his works, will again call for our attention. Nor could this be separated from a real *moderation* of spirit in many particulars, however little that quality may have been generally allowed to him. The reader will perhaps remember undeniable instances of it, in what he was ready to yield with respect to the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, what he urged in favour of the preservation of the canonries in cathedral churches; and his advice in the case of Osiander;[1] not to mention that which he gave concerning the discontinuance of the protestant preaching at Augsburg, during the period of the diet, if the emperor should require it.

"His confidence that his own opinions were well founded" might sometimes (and that in

[1] Above, pp. 56, 94, 308, 324.

other instances beside the sacramental controversy,) "approach to arrogance;" and "symptoms of vanity and self-applause" might, "on some occasions, be discovered:" he must indeed, as Dr. R. observes, have been "more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he" had been made the means of actually accomplishing, "he had never felt any sentiment of this kind rising in his breast:" yet there was not wanting in him that real modesty in estimating his own endowments and performances, which is equally essential to a truly great and a truly good man. Of this, too, we have seen proofs, and additional ones are yet in reserve.[1] A. D. 1546.

With all his heat and violence, likewise, he was seldom chargeable with rashness or imprudence in his conduct. He might speak hastily, but he generally acted wisely.[2] Indeed, as Melancthon has observed of him in his funeral oration, he possessed an intuitive sagacity which seemed at once to suggest to him both what was true, and what, in difficult circumstances, was right to be done.

His temper towards the close of life.

But the sentence in Dr. Robertson's account of him, which would give me much more pain than any other, were there reason to believe it correct, is the following: "Towards the close of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increased upon him, so that he grew daily more peevish, more irascible, and more impatient of contradiction." This is the very imputation which his worst enemies labour to fix upon him. "Never," says Maim-

[1] See above, his conversation with Bucer on preaching, p. 216; his letter to Venice, pp. 317, 319; his observations on his own writings, p. 242, and elsewhere; and below, his letter to Brentius.

[2] Dr. Milner.

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bourg, "was this heresiarch more violent or more extravagant in his hostility to the church and the pope, than immediately before his death:" and for this he assigns, as a reason, his dread of the council of Trent, and other causes equally imaginary. But Seckendorf, on the contrary, affirms that his writings against the papacy were no more severe than they had been almost ever since the diet of Worms; that he was never more inclined to peace; for the sake of which he was willing to leave the pope and the bishops in possession of all their wealth and dignity; and to tolerate all ceremonies which could be considered as indifferent, —provided only pure doctrine were allowed, and persecution abandoned.[1]—Bossuet would extend the same injurious representation to his conduct to the sacramentarians, and even to his own immediate friends: and towards the former we must acknowledge that he at all times acted with very unwarrantable harshness. But, with respect to the charge of increasing irascibility of temper as the close of life approached, we may first remark, that certainly no traces of it are to be discovered amid all the employments which filled up several of his last weeks. In his undertaking the business which carried him to Eisleben, in his journey thither in the depth of winter, in his preaching by the way, in the manner in which he passed his time there, in his sermons, his labours, his intercourse with his friends, and his devotions, we find nothing but what was peaceable, benevolent, and pious. Nor do I recollect any thing particularly of a contrary kind subsequent to his return to Wittemberg, in the summer of

[1] Seck. iii. 633.

1545. But it is in his previous sudden departure from that place, with the causes and the state of feeling which led to it, that, I conceive, we trace what has given occasion to the painful representation, too hastily, as I trust, adopted by Dr. Robertson. We have before stated, however, that there is reason to believe that to have been a passing cloud, shedding a gloomy influence over the reformer's mind, (such as the firmest and best regulated spirit may not always escape,) rather than any thing permanent: and surely, under all the circumstances of the case, we may admit that it calls more for our condolence than for severe censure. Luther was worne down with care and labour, with disease and pain. External events also were, at that juncture, peculiarly harassing: and all this acting upon a temper naturally irritable, and, it is admitted, not so much softened and subdued as it ought to have been, for a time overcame him. He was peevish and impatient to those about him, and he could no longer bear the scene of his vexations. The course, however, which he took, was the proper one: he retired, he relaxed himself, he visited his pious friends, Amsdorf, George of Anhalt, and others, and no doubt he communed with his God. The elector wrote affectionately to him: the university solicited his return. He complied, and we hear no more of his fretfulness and desertion of his duties.—I trust this is the true account of the case; which, while, from the censures entailed upon Luther, it may admonish us, how much it behoves even the greatest and best of men never to relax their watchfulness, but to pray to the last, "Hold thou me up and I shall be safe," may teach us also candour and forbearance in our judgments, and may especially

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guard us against confounding what is transient in the feelings of any one, with what is habitual and a part of his character.

His connexion with Melancthon.

And here, after reviewing these several qualities of Luther's temper and mind, we may justly take occasion to notice the admirable arrangement of divine providence, in giving him and Melancthon to be so intimately associated together. "Helps meet" for one another they assuredly were, in a very remarkable degree. Maimbourg, indeed, cannot but stand astonished at their close and lasting union. "Was there ever," he is ready to ask, "so extraordinary and almost unnatural a friendship between men, from the contrariety of whose tempers we might rather have expected an irreconcileable antipathy? Luther was daring, imperious, fierce, irritable, prompt to decide, and obstinate in adhering to his opinions, though, among his friends, entertaining and jocose. Melancthon was mild, humble, moderate, exceedingly grave, studious of peace, and ready to concede almost any thing for the sake of it; nay even timid, hesitating, and indecisive in every thing."[1] While giving this somewhat exaggerated description of the points of difference between the two characters, the writer has neglected to observe, that in the great principles which governed them both they were indissolubly united. "The love of Christ constrained" them. Zeal for God, regard for the good of mankind, both spiritual and temporal, and an ardent attachment to divine truth ruled in both their hearts, and prompted their conduct: and they in whom such principles prevail are "taught of God to love one another." When

[1] See the passage in Seckendorf, iii. 158, with his remarks.

this great basis of union was laid, it is obvious also that many of the qualities enumerated would adapt them to each other, rather than the contrary. Each was suited to supply somewhat that the other wanted, or to moderate somewhat in which he was prone to excess. Each accordingly felt how much he owed to the other, both personally and in the great work which they were jointly carrying on: and hence their attachment was affectionate and uninterrupted.[1] A. D. 1546.

I am willing here to adopt, perhaps with a little reserve in some clauses, the sentences of a modern biographer of Melancthon. "The profound learning and cultivated taste of the one, the vigorous zeal, independent spirit, and dauntless heroism of the other, alike conduced to dissipate the delusions of the age. Both adopted the same general views; and each was equally solicitous of removing that veil of Egyptian darkness that overspread the face of the world: yet they were constitutionally different....Truth would undoubtedly have suffered, had the one been less energetic and daring, or the other less moderate and cultivated....If the reformation claimed the steady efforts of true courage and inextinguishable zeal, be it remembered also, that it no less required a proportion of nice discernment, elegant taste, and literary skill: if a superstition, which invested a mortal with the prerogative of infallibility, were to be attacked

[1] See Melancthon's acknowledgment of his obligations to Luther, in his will, above, pp. 298, 299. Of Luther's reciprocal regard and obligations we may admit Maimbourg's testimony: "Luther, in return, loved him so tenderly, and esteemed him so highly, that by him alone would he suffer himself to be admonished and moderated under excessive irritation."—Ubi supra.

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and levelled with the dust, the ignorance, which, with its characteristic blindness, supported that superstition, was at the same time to be dethroned and demolished: if old abuses were to be removed, and a new order of things to be introduced and systematized, it was desirable to find not only a nervous arm, but a polished mind, at once to clear away the rubbish of error, and clothe unwelcome novelties with attractive beauty: in a word, if existing circumstances called for a MARTIN LUTHER, they also demanded a PHILIP MELANCTHON."[1]

Further qualities which distinguished him.

But some of the leading excellencies which distinguished the great father of the reformation, and which especially endear him to the truly Christian mind, are wholly passed over in the review which has hitherto been made of his character. We will not affirm quite so much as this of the sterling and uncompromising *honesty*, which is one of the features that most stands out from the canvass in his genuine portrait: yet even this has not been presented with the prominence that belongs to it. Can any one read over the history of Luther which is now before him, the detail of his actual sayings and doings, without feeling that, if ever honesty and integrity were embodied, it was in his person? He avowed nothing but what he conscientiously believed: he kept back nothing which conscience dictated to be avowed. Can any man of common fairness doubt this? For myself I must confess, that I never read of the man in whom I felt compelled to place a more unreserved reliance, both for the truth of all his declarations and the uprightness of all his intentions.

[1] Cox's Life of Melancthon.

A. D. 1546.

And then, not only was his belief of all he taught most sincere, it was also most thoroughly practical and influential. He himself daily lived upon that bread of life which he broke to others. The doctrines which he preached to mankind were the support of all his own hopes, the spring of all his comforts, the source of his peace of mind, of his strength for service or for suffering in the cause of God, the principles which evermore governed and animated him—raised him above the fear of man, and the love of the world, and carried him, with a heroic elevation of soul, through a series of labours and dangers, never perhaps surpassed since the days of the apostle Paul. In the true genuine doctrines of the gospel, and especially in that of our being "justified freely, by God's grace, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus," and this inestimable benefit appropriated only by a living faith, and not by our own works or deservings, he found that which could alone relieve his own conscience from an anxiety amounting, at times, even to anguish,[1] and for want of which he saw the whole Christian world around him groaning under a system of delusion, imposition, and bondage the most intolerable and ruinous: and what he had thus found to be the relief and salvation of his own soul, he could not but proclaim to others also: —"Neither counted he his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, *to testify the gospel of the grace of God.*" Never, probably, did there exist the man who could more truly say with S. Paul, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our

[1] See above, p. 37, and Milner, iv. 323, 418, 419. (293, 398, 399.)

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Lord Jesus Christ, by whom (or by *which*) the world is crucified unto me and I unto the world."—And this assuredly, in all its parts, is the state of mind which is especially wanting to us, to give more effect to our ministrations—to draw down a larger measure of the divine blessing upon them. May He, with whom is "the residue of the Spirit," indeed raise up among us—shall I say *a new race* of such "men of God," by whom he will indeed revive his church wherever it is decayed, reform it wherever it is corrupted, unite it wherever it is divided, and extend it wherever it is not yet planted; that "the wilderness and the solitary place may be glad for them, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose!"

In short, the great charm of Luther's character, and that from which the other excellencies admired in him even by those for whom this may have less attractions, derived their origin or their support, was his *spirituality*. His whole heart and soul were in religion; not in the barren *notion* of its truths, or in its mere exterior *observances*, but in the communion with God by which it is produced and cherished; in the love of God and of man, in the "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," in the penitence, the faith, the devotion, the deadness to the world, the heavenly mindedness, in which it consists; and in all the practical fruits of righteousness and usefulness which it brings forth.—The reader will not forget his correspondence at the period, especially, of the diet of Augsburg, or the account of those retired devotions, by which his Christian heroism was sustained, given by Vitus Theodorus, his companion at Coburg. He will recal to mind, perhaps, the manner in which he has

heard Luther speak of his daily exercising himself on the common truths of the catechism: and he will not be displeased to receive the further testimony, borne to his devotional spirit, by Melancthon in the oration before referred to, which he pronounced at his funeral. "Often have I myself gone to him unawares, and found him dissolved in tears and prayers for the whole church of Christ. He commonly devoted a portion of every day to the solemn recitation of some of the Psalms of David, with which he mingled his own supplications, with sighs and tears: and often has he declared, that he could not help feeling a sort of indignation at those who, through sloth, or under the pretence of other occupations, hurried over devotional exercises, or contented themselves with mere ejaculatory prayer.[1] On this account, he said, divine wisdom has prescribed some formularies to us, that our minds may be inflamed with devotional feeling in reading them,—to which, in his opinion, reading aloud very much conduced. When therefore a variety of great and important deliberations respecting public dangers have been pending, we have witnessed his prodigious vigour of mind, his fearless and unshaken courage. Faith was his sheet anchor, and, by the help of God, he was resolved never to be driven from it."[2] A. D. 1546.

And in this place I think I cannot do better than transcribe, also, the noble application which bishop Atterbury has made to him of a sublime passage of S. Paul's writings. It is in his defence of Luther's discontinuing the observance of the "canonical hours," or that daily

[1] Compare his observations on this subject in his commentary on Joel, quoted Seck. iii. 666 (5).

[2] See the Oration at length, Seck. iii. 648—650.

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repetition of forms of devotion, to which the Romish ritual obliges the clergy.[1] "His active spirit," the bishop says, "was employed upon things more acceptable to God Almighty, because more useful to mankind. He was *wrestling against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.* To this end, he *took unto him the whole armour of God, that he might be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand.* He *stood therefore; having his loins girded about with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, and his feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all taking the shield of faith, wherewith he was able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.* And he *took the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God:* still *praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all saints;* and for himself, *that utterance might be given unto him, that he might open his mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel.*—I could not forbear," the bishop declares, "setting down at full length this panoply of S. Paul, wherewith Luther completely armed himself in his spiritual warfare: and I do not know whether this description so justly belongs to any man as to him, since the days of the apostles."[2]

Our obligations to the Reformers.

I only add an observation on the real nature of our obligations to the blessed and venerable

[1] I apprehend intermingled with those ridiculous legendary tales, of which Dr. Philpott's and Mr. Blanco White have lately given us ample specimens.

[2] Answer to Considerations, &c. p. 42.

reformers of the sixteenth century. The reader will not be surprised at my expressing an utter disapprobation of all such sentiments as the following: "that the reformers are to be honoured *chiefly* for the grand principles of Christian liberty which they so strenuously asserted and maintained—the detail of doctrine and practice will always occasion difference of opinion: that they were too tenacious of their particular creed—but that this period was only the dawn of religious discovery," &c.—I confess that, in my opinion, all this is catering most offensively to the corrupt taste of a lukewarm and latitudinarian age. I trust that I honour the reformers, as much as any man can do, for "strenuously asserting and maintaining in the face of the most powerful opponents"—so far as they really did assert and maintain them—"the grand principles of Christian liberty:" but I conceive that they did this, to say the least, not at all more perfectly than they "asserted and maintained," and brought forward into open day "the grand principles of Christian" TRUTH: that, as far as they succeeded, they were "the restorers of *light*"[1]—the pure light of the gospel—not at all less than of "liberty," to the Christian church, which had for ages been "sitting in darkness and the shadow of death."—"The detail of doctrine and practice will," no doubt, "always," while the state of mankind continues what it is, "occasion difference of opinion:" but we are not on this ground to be left to conclude that truth, even on the most essential points, cannot be ascertained. There has been unspeakably less difference of opinion in such

A. D. 1546.

[1] Robertson

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matters among really good men in all ages, than is commonly supposed. No doubt also the reformers might be "too tenacious of their particular creed, and," in some cases, "inconsistent with themselves": but let us not, under the cover of positions which none can deny, as applied to minor parts of the reformers' system, be led to conclusions which none should admit concerning the great outlines of their doctrine. —And with extreme caution is the suspicious statement to be received, of "this period being only the dawn of religious discovery." Let no inexperienced reader ever suppose, that religious truth can be the subject of "discovery," in any such sense as latent principles or hitherto unobserved phenomena in chemistry or in geology may be; or that one age can improve upon the theological science of another preceding it, any otherwise than by returning to the more simple and more unreserved reception of the unerring disclosures, which were completed to the Christian church in its very infancy, in the only source of all religious knowledge—"THE ORACLES OF GOD." And, in their "discovery" and exhibition of all the *leading* principles of these repositories of divine wisdom, I am persuaded no class of teachers have surpassed the great luminaries of the reformation. Yes, it is upon this ground, above all others,—by their having asserted to the sacred writings, as they did, that sole and exclusive authority which is their inalienable right, and having deduced from them all the great truths of pure and undefiled religion,—that they have established a claim to our eternal gratitude. "*These men were the servants of the most high God, shewing unto us*"—after it had been obscured and almost

lost for ages—"THE WAY OF SALVATION."[1] Yes, A. D. 1542.

"Their blood was shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon IMMORTAL TRUTH,
To walk with God, to be DIVINELY free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies."

We have given some account of the writings of Luther as far as the end of the year 1541. His principal publications in 1542, besides his tract on the rejection of Pflug, and the inauguration of Amsdorf as bishop of Naumburg, and his address to the elector and Maurice on their quarrel, (both which have been already noticed,) Works of Luther.

[1] "By Luther and his fellow labourers," says Melchior Adam, "God brought to light to his church those most essential doctrines which respect the Mediator, the way of justification, the difference between the law and the gospel, the nature of acceptable worship, and other subjects of vital importance."—He then quotes the following testimony of Melancthon concerning Luther. "He often bewailed the impious addresses made to departed saints, and said, For various reasons such a profane practice is to be execrated, but especially because it obscures the evidence of the deity of Christ, arising from the divine honours which we are taught to pay to him, in the scriptures both of the prophets and the apostles. This is the idolatry which whets the cimeters of the Turks against us: nor will our blood cease to be shed by them, unless a pious reformation be made. Who can deny the gross impiety of such sentences as these, which are constantly heard in the papal churches:

O Mary, mother of grace,
Defend us from the enemy!
Receive us in the hour of death!

And again:

O Saint Dorothy, create in me a clean heart!
O Saint Catharine, remove us from the troubles of this world to the bliss of paradise! Open to us the gates of paradise!"

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were a commentary on the prophet Micah; a translation into German, with a preface and notes, of a work of Richard Dominicanus (a writer whom he supposes to have lived early in the fourteenth century,) on the Koran; and prefaces to an epitome of the Conformities of S. Francis, and to the postills of John Spangenberg, subsequently superintendant of Mansfeld.

On the Koran.

The work of Richard had excited his curiosity concerning the Koran. He could not for some time believe that rational beings could be found to receive propositions so monstrous, as it professed to exhibit from the Koran: but he had since obtained a Latin translation of the work of the Arabian impostor, and had found that there was no fiction in Richard's charges. He wished therefore to make them known to his countrymen, at a time when the Mahometans were so much spreading their conquests, and with them their religion in Europe. He takes occasion therefore to introduce many admonitions and addresses suitable to the times.[1]

Conformities of S. Francis.

The Conformities of S. Francis he wished to keep before the public eye, that it might not be forgotten what things had really been taught under the papacy.—Many now affected to disbelieve that such things had actually been written and received; many were found to soften them down or varnish them over, especially in the diets:[2] not that the papists had renounced them; they only kept them in the back ground, to reproduce them at a more favourable opportunity; and we may easily, says Luther, relapse into them, if we prove un-

[1] Seck. iii. 411, 412.

[2] Qu.—May we not read, In the houses of Lords and Commons?

grateful for the benefits conferred upon us, and thus provoke God to withdraw his grace from us.[1] A. D. 1542.

Preface to Spangenberg's Postills.

In his preface to Spangenberg he dwells at some length on the term "mystery," applied by S. Paul to the gospel, and particularly (Eph. v.) to the union between Christ and the church. When he first set out, he says, "he thought that he well understood all this,—as many other smatterers now did; but, when he had made some little progress, he found that it was indeed a mystery, which too much pains could not be taken to understand and unfold." He laments, however, that many wrote, "not to make known this mystery, but that their own fine thoughts might not be lost; and they then set both themselves and their books to sale. But such men would never effect any thing in the church of God." On the contrary, he reprehends idle preachers, who contented themselves with "repeating, like parrots and jackdaws, only what others had written." His one wish, he declares for himself, was, that, "when he and his comrades, who could not always stand in the foremost ranks as they had done, were removed, the truth of Christ might still be defended against the world, the flesh, and the devil. Though those who followed them might not have such a work to perform as the reformers had had, they would yet have at least enough to do, to prevent the devil's re-introducing like abominations into the church. They could not, therefore, too diligently study the scriptures, too earnestly teach what they learned from them, or too carefully illustrate what they taught by their own life and conversation."[2]

[1] Seck. iii. 412. [2] Ib. 414.

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Letters.

From his letters of this period it appears that he wished to decline the exemption, which the elector ordered to be allowed him, from the assessments levied for the Turkish war. He desired to do something against the common enemy of Christendom; and would have been glad, he says, had not age and infirmities forbidden him, to go out as a chaplain with the army; for he "feared that the Germans would prove too confident and secure, and, without truly turning to God themselves, would despise the enemy—who, however, was not to be despised, supported as he was by all the power of Satan. Little, therefore, was to be hoped for, unless God were propitiated and took their part."[1]

Controversy with the Jews. 1543.

The next year Luther engaged in the controversy against the Jews. When it became known that Hebrew studies were cultivated at Wittemberg, it gave spirits to the members of the Jewish communion; which were further raised by some of the German fanatics embracing their profession. In consequence three of their learned men came to dispute with Luther. He treated them kindly till he found their obstinacy and virulence; and then he wrote with some severity "against the Jews and their falsehoods." He thinks it useless to discuss the Christian mysteries with them, their prejudice and hardness are so great: he would rather employ arguments against them drawn from their circumstances during fifteen hundred years past, which were such as had been predicted by Jesus Christ, and evidently shewed the anger of God resting upon them. Their boasted privileges and distinctions were to be treated as worthless, when separated from faith and piety. Nothing was to be

[1] Seck. iii. 416.

expected from them, till, softened by their calamities, they should listen to the proofs that the Messiah was come: and the fact of his being come he argues from the usual passages, Genesis xlix, Daniel ix, Haggai ii.—Provoked by their blasphemies and crimes, he is ready, with respect to them, even to relinquish his general principles of toleration, and to sanction, not only stopping their usurious practices, and silencing their open revilings of Christ and his religion, but even depriving them of their books, pulling down their synagogues, and compelling them either to labour for their subsistence, or to quit the country!—This is the only instance, which I have met with, of Luther's direct deviation from those tolerant principles which he habitually asserted and maintained; and it never went beyond mere words, perhaps rather hastily uttered.—He makes a vivid and striking display, however, of the difference between the sort of Saviour whom the Jews expect, and that spiritual Redeemer in whom we rejoice, and may well rejoice even amid poverty, affliction, and oppression.[1] A. D. 1543.

In a second piece which he published, and in which he particularly considers the genealogies of our Lord given by S. Matthew and S. Luke, he avows his belief that the blindness of the Jews will be perpetual, and that the apostle, in the eleventh chapter of Romans, treats of a different subject than their conversion!—He declares himself anxious, however, for the progress of Hebrew studies, and longs to have the grammars of that language purified from Jewish perversions. Here he speaks with great modesty of his own version of the scriptures, and is sensible that it needs much improvement.[2]

[1] Seck. iii. 458—460. [2] Ib. 460—463.

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On the last words of David.

The latter of these publications led him to a third, on "the last words of David," 2 Samuel xxiii; in which he considers at some length the doctrine of the Trinity, the addressing of our worship to the several persons, distinctly or conjointly, and the person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. This work is highly commended by Seckendorf.[1]

Preface to declamations of the Elector's sons.

Among the minor writings of Luther at this period, a preface may deserve to be mentioned, which he wrote to some Latin declamations composed and delivered by the elector's sons, boys of thirteen and fourteen years of age. Luther here expresses great joy at the progress of learning, (so different than under the papacy!) at the elector's manner of training his sons, and the good hopes which they afforded him; and concludes with offering fervent prayers for them, and for others of their rank, adapted particularly to the times in which their lot was cast. On the whole it is a very pleasing spectacle which this little publication presents to us, both of the elector's family, and of the regard which Luther bore to them.[2]

Elevation of the Sacramental Elements.

Several passages of Luther's correspondence about this time turn upon the question of the elevation of the elements in the eucharist. This he ever held to be a ceremony which might be retained or discontinued as circumstances should suggest. When Carolstadt demanded its abrogation, and called Luther "a murderer and crucifier of Christ," if he continued it, he would not give it up. Afterwards, when most protestant bodies had dropped it, he did the same, being resolved not to differ from them in a practice which he esteemed

[1] Seck. iii. 463, 464. [2] Ib. 465—467.

altogether indifferent. In other cases, where the omission gave offence, and occasioned prejudice, he recommended that it should be retained: and such was also the conduct of George of Anhalt. [1] A. D. 1544.

On this subject the bishop of Meaux very harshly and groundlessly insults the memory of Luther, as if he had been influenced in his varying practice by corrupt motives; whereas the unvarying and liberal principle by which he was guided is obvious. The bishop particularly insinuates that he was overawed by the landgrave of Hesse, who, he says, became after his double marriage "the patriarch of the reformation," and dictated to Luther as he pleased! Nothing can be more contrary to fact. [2]

In the year 1544, Luther published again on the eucharist, treating the Zuinglians with much severity, and especially declaring himself shocked at what Zuinglius had written concerning the heathen. [3]—He also published some sermons. In one on Michaelmas day, speaking of the divinity of Christ, he declares that he who does not learn to believe in him as God incarnate, and to rejoice in him accordingly, can learn nothing rightly concerning Christianity, and had better give up the Bible. [4]—Another of his sermons was delivered at the consecration of the chapel in the castle at Torgau, the first that had been consecrated Sacramental controversy. Sermons.

[1] Seck. iii. 380, 469—471, 497, 593. "On the elevation of the sacramental elements," he writes to Spalatinus, 10 November, 1542, "Do as you please. On such indifferent matters I would put no snare in any man's way. So I write, have written, and will write to all who daily tease me upon that question." Buddeus, p. 276. [2] See Seck. iii. 470.

[3] Ib. 515. See Milner v. 524, 525. (1125, 1126.)

[4] Seck. iii. 516.

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since the reformation, and with prayer and preaching alone, apart from the exploded superstitious rites.[1]

Letters.

Among his letters of this date, we find the excellent consolatory one to Spalatinus, quoted by Dr. Milner, iv. 418, 419: and a very pious one to the electress, while the elector was absent at the diet of Spires—in which he says of himself, "I have lived long enough: may God send me a happy dismissal from this vile body! I have seen whatever is best to be seen upon earth: things appear inclining to the worse: may God be our helper!" In another to Corvinus, superintendant of the dutchy of Hanover, he mentions Elizabeth of Brandenburg, widow of the duke Eric, having come to Wittemberg, with her son, and sending for Luther to dine with her; on which occasion he had catechised the young prince, and been greatly pleased with his progress in religious knowledge. He prays for him, and charges Corvinus and others to do the same, sensible to what dangers he would be exposed on coming out into life.[2]

Letter on the memorials of the Saints.

A letter of Luther's to Spalatinus, prefixed as a preface to a collection which that worthy person had made of the examples and sayings of pious men, contains many excellent sentiments. "I am much pleased, my dear Spalatinus, with your design of collecting the acts and sayings of the saints of God; and I doubt not that it will be acceptable to God himself, and to the people of God. Things of this kind tend not only to stop the mouths of those who reproach us as introducing new doctrines, but also to confirm our own minds by the testimony

[1] Seck. iii. 516. [2] Ib. 519, 520. Above, p. 359.

of so great a cloud of witnesses, who have thought, and spoken, and acted, and suffered in the same manner with ourselves. For, though each one's own faith in the word of God ought to support his resolution of standing, though it were alone, in the conflict against the gates of hell, yet even when the spirit is willing the flesh is weak: and therefore it is a great confirmation to the pious mind to trace in so many excellent men, through many successive ages, the same things as it meets with in its own daily experience. Even in the best of men, indeed, there have been many things said and done under the influence of the flesh, and the law of sin warring against the law of the mind, according to what we read in Romans vii; to say nothing of the falsehoods which have been foisted into their histories by the children of the wicked one: yet, when the confession of sin and the struggle against it are concerned, we see how purely and constantly they avow their faith. What could have been said more pious or more becoming in S. Ambrose, than when, in his last conflict against sin, death, the wrath of God, and the threats of hell, he boldly pronounced to the presbyters who stood about him, 'I have not so lived as to be ashamed to continue among you; nor do I fear to die, since we serve a gracious Master'? S. Augustine, in his last agony, as Possidonius relates, highly commended this sentiment of Ambrose. The same Augustine also comforted himself against the charges of conscience (the source of severest trial in the hour of death,) in the following words: 'I shall be troubled but not distressed, because I think

A. D. 1544.

[1] Turbabor, sed non perturbabor. See 2 Cor. iv. 8—10.

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on the sufferings of my Saviour.' Who does not see, that in sentences like these the most holy men declare their faith in Christ, a faith sole and exclusive, yet firm, and victorious over sin and death? For, though they judge their life to be irreproachable among men, (as it ought to be, and must be,) yet before God they rely entirely on his mercy and grace, and fly to the wounds of Christ, as the doves to the clefts of the rock.[1]—We do well, therefore, first to separate the histories of the saints from the falsehoods with which they have been mixed up, and then, rightly dividing the word of truth, to try them by the rule and analogy of faith—according to the apostolic direction, *Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.* But what room would there be for this admonition, if all that was said and done by the saints were to be received implicitly, like articles of faith? No: they were holy men, but yet *men*, in whom divine grace had still to struggle against corrupt nature. Where therefore they spoke and acted under the influence of the Spirit, their sayings and actions are worthy to be preserved, as what the Lord Christ wrought in them: but, where the contrary, there we are to bear with them, and consider this as permitted for our encouragement, since we see that the saints of God were infirm beings like ourselves, and each one of them bore about with him in his flesh the remains of sin.—On these accounts I wish your book to be published: but do not bestow upon me such lavish—if I did not know your sincerity, I should say, such false—commendation. I know that I am nothing. Farewell in the Lord! Pray for me,

[1] Sol. Song, ii. 14.

that I may have a happy transition from this body of sin and death! Amen. 8 March, 1544."[1] A.D. 1545.

George Heldus Forcheim has been mentioned, as the preceptor of Prince George of Anhalt and other eminent persons. We will here insert part of a letter from Luther to George of Anhalt on his death. It is dated March 9, 1545. On the death of Heldus.

"Grace and peace to you in Christ! So then, most illustrious prince, our friend Heldus is gone, leaving us to lament him! O my God, at a time when we have need of many holy men to comfort and strengthen us by their prayers, their counsels, and their assistance, thou takest away even the few that are left us! We know, O God, that the prayers and the labours of the departed, who most ardently loved and zealously served thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and was most useful to thy church, were well-pleasing in thy sight.—Certainly I myself placed great confidence in his prayers, and derived great consolation from them. How severe a wound then must you have suffered, most excellent prince, by the removal of one with whom you lived on terms of such faithful and endeared friendship. But it is well with him. Gathered to his fathers and to his people, he finds more and better companions there than he has left behind. But our lot is trying, who live, or drag on a sort of dying existence, here in Sodom and Babylon, and find the number of good men diminish in proportion as the state of things, daily declining towards what is worse, requires an increase of them. But the wisdom of God is to be adored, who, when he is about

[1] Seck. iii. 518. Strobel. 327.

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to accomplish something great, and surpassing our hopes, first seems to annihilate all expectation, and to reduce us to despair: as it is written, *He bringeth down to the grave,* (ad inferos,) *and bringeth up again.* He does this, to teach us the exercise of faith, hope, and love towards him; and that we may learn to esteem things not seen above those which do appear, and *against hope to believe in hope,* and to depend on him who *calleth things which are not as though they were.* Then, while he takes away from us all his most pleasant gifts, and exhibits himself to us as if his kindness and his loveliness had come utterly to an end, at that very time he is thinking most especially, and I might almost say anxiously, the thoughts of love towards us. By means like these it is that the old man is slain—the body of sin destroyed. —Wherefore comfort yourself, most excellent prince, according to the rich measure in which it has been given you to know God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and to meditate on all the operations of his hands. It shall be my prayer, that the God of all consolation would confirm and strengthen you by his Holy Spirit, until the appointed end of these trials be accomplished. For, as it is said in Jeremiah, *He doth not willingly grieve the childen of men.* And Augustine says, *God would not permit evil to exist, if he had not some greater good to bring out of it.*—We are yet in the flesh, and know not what to ask or how to ask it; that is, to ask what is good for us: but He, who is able to do above all we ask or think, *careth for us:* he can do for us beyond what the narrowness of our hearts allows us to desire, or even to imagine. But it is necessary, in order to his doing this, that he should first take

from us those things which we think we cannot do without; or at least think that their absence would occasion us great injury or great danger. Scripture abounds with examples to this effect. Adam and Eve were almost intoxicated with high expectations from Cain: God deprived them of both their sons, and almost reduced them to despair: but then He that quickeneth the dead, and createth all things out of nothing, gave them *another seed*, and an unfailing posterity. Abraham promised himself great things from Ishmael, Isaac from Esau, Jacob from Reuben, his first born; but all these hopes must receive a death-blow, that new and immortal hopes might take their place. God is mighty and faithful: he promises and he performs.—Let us bewail our departed friend then, because *his light is lost*, as the son of Sirach says, yet not to himself but to us. To him his light burns more brightly, and shall burn for ever. Soon too our light shall fail here, but be rekindled and perfected in that better state, through him who is at once our Light and our Life. Amen! In Him may your highness ever fare well!" [1] A. D. 1545.

We may remark from this letter, as from many other passages of his writings, how much Luther's distinguishing excellencies, his faith, his wisdom, his fervour, his heroism, the richness of his instructions, were derived from his being so intimately conversant with every part of scripture. He read it daily and most diligently. In all its contents it was continually passing in review before him.

The most elaborate work of Luther published in the year 1545 was a commentary on the Commentary on Hosea.

[1] Seck. iii. 594.

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prophet Hosea. In this he points out how great a proportion of the messages of the prophets are easily applicable to our own times; exposes the false candour of leaving the papists unmolested in their errors; and throughout makes powerful attacks upon them.[1] He here again shews what it was that he rejected under the name of *free will*. "Reason restrains men from many vices, and prompts them to many outward virtues; but this will not prove the existence of free will—*that is, that man, without the grace of the Spirit of God, can govern himself, act rightly, and recommend himself to God;* which is the point that the upholders of free will contend for."[2]

Free Will.

Several sermons were also published which he preached at different places this year, during his absence from Wittemberg.[3]

Answer to the Divines of Louvaine

The divines of Louvain, having, on account of the "great increase of heresy," at this time published articles of religion, which comprised all the principal points of the Roman catholic doctrine, and were sanctioned in the Low Countries by an imperial rescript, Luther wrote in reply to them.[4]—He also addressed a long letter to the elector and the landgrave against the liberation of Henry of Brunswick.[5] Though he writes thus, he declares, however, "I have not a heart of iron or stone: I rejoice in no man's calamity: it becomes not a Christian to

Letter on Henry of Brunswick.

[1] Opera, iv. 398. Witt. Seck. iii. 583—587.

[2] Seck. iii. 587. This explanation will fully support bishop Atterbury's assertion: "Luther's doctrine of free will is, when fairly expounded, the same with the church of England's: as such we own it, and shall defend it." Answer to Consid. p. 104.

[3] Seck. iii. 588.

[4] Opera, ii. 542. Witt. Seck. iii. 589, 590.

[5] Ibid. 590, 591.

imprecate evil on an enemy, not even on a Turk or a Jew, on the pope or his cardinals; but rather to supplicate God on behalf of all."— "We know," he says again, "that the pope and the papists have doomed us all to destruction, both body and soul; but we wish and desire to promote both their bodily welfare and the salvation of their souls. Our conscience attests the truth of this. Our feeling also is, that, if God should permit them, as they madly wish, to extirpate us, we should esteem it glorious to suffer for him and his word. O God, how great an honour would that be, and how happy should we think ourselves, to shed our blood in return for the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ! But the consequences would be heavy indeed to our enemies and murderers. They would find God to be a righteous avenger. Cease then," he says, "ye infatuated men, to fan a flame which God will direct against yourselves."[1] A. D. 1545.

No restraint imposed on Luther.

The elector and the landgrave both scrupulously abstained from checking him in what he thought proper to write and publish: so high an opinion did they entertain of his wisdom, and of the effect of his writings. Even when king Ferdinand, having read his book "Against the Pope," published this year, observed that, "if the language were but softened, it was not in other respects to be found fault with;" the elector replied, "Dr. Martin is a man of a singular spirit, which suffers not itself to be restrained in these matters. No doubt he has weighty reasons for this strong language. He is stirred up in an extraordinary manner against the papacy, to overthrow it,

[1] Seck. iii. 591, 592.

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not to amend it—for that is impossible. Mild language therefore would be out of place."—When the offensiveness of a picture prefixed to the book was further represented, the elector still replied, that "Luther's spirit was extraordinary, and he had further views in the particular means he employed, than all could penetrate; on which account neither his (the elector's) father, John, nor his uncle Frederick would at all prescribe to him; nor would he himself presume to do it."[1]—Though certainly it is to be wished, for the sake of posterity at least, and I conceive also for the sake of his own contemporaries, that Luther had moderated his style, yet the wisdom and forbearance of the three electors in not venturing out of their proper province, to direct, or even to regulate the movements of their subject—an extraordinary man, evidently raised up for an extraordinary service—are greatly to be admired; and we know not how much they might have marred the work, had they attempted to do otherwise.

[1] Seck. iii. 556. Sleid. 349.—Bishop Atterbury is disposed to make considerable allowances for the severity of Luther's language: and there is weight in what he says, though we would beware of carrying the apology too far. "As for the heat with which he treated his adversaries, it was sometimes strained a little too far; but in the general it was extremely well fitted by the providence of God to rouse up a people, the most phlegmatic of any in Christendom. Europe lay then in a deep lethargy, and was no otherwise to be rescued from it, but by one that would *cry mightily, and lift up his voice with strength*. . . . Invectives too were in those days the fashionable way of writing"—introduced by "the restorers of learning in Italy." "If Luther therefore mingled a little gall with his ink in his books of controversy, he followed but the humour of the age; and, considering the stupidity, the malice, and the obstinacy of his readers, he cannot but be thought excusable." His lordship would

A. D. 1545.

This year Luther wrote the preface to the first volume of his collected works. Dr. Milner has in an early part of his history given an interesting and important extract from it:[1] I shall only here add a few sentences, which conspire with many other passages, in his various compositions, to shew the very modest estimate which he formed of his own writings. "I long and stoutly held out," he says, "against those who wished to have my books, or rather the confused mass of my lucubrations, collected and published together. I opposed this, both because I would not have attention drawn off from ancient writers by my new publications, and because now, through the grace of God, there exist many orderly works, particularly the Common Places of Melancthon, by which the divine and the pastor of the church may be throughly furnished, especially since the sacred writings themselves may now be

Preface to his collected Works.

His estimate of his own Compositions.

make the same apology for the reformer that was made for S. Chrysostom: *Profecto illorum temporum vitia secari atque uri, non levibus medelis curari voluere..* "If he offended that way, yet it was an useful, not to say a necessary failure:" and "there was but this single fault that Erasmus, though an enemy, could object to him." Answer to Consid. &c. pp. 72, 73.—Yet the bishop contends that it was not till after the insolence of Cajetan, who "descended to bitter reprehensions and base terms, telling him that princes have long hands, and so bidding him begone;" (F. Paul, p. 8.) nor till, "instead of the redress he expected from Rome, he found his books burned there, himself condemned without a hearing, and his adversaries Eccius and Prierias supported in all the ribaldry of language their passions could suggest;" that he became chargeable with even this fault. "I believe," he says, "that part of the first volume of his works, which contains whatever he wrote in his two leading years, will, though sifted by an enemy, hardly afford, throughout, one single indecency." Pp. 12, 13, 44, 45.

[1] Milner, iv. 357, 358. (332, 333.)

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had in almost every language; while my compositions, prompted and even compelled by the course of events, are a sort of rude and undigested chaos, which I myself can hardly reduce to any order." He had wished them therefore "to sink into oblivion, and give way to somewhat better." He was obliged, however, to yield to the importunities of his friends, (who urged that, if he did not collect and arrange them, some would attempt it after his death, who knew not the circumstances and occasions of the several pieces,) as well as to the pleasure and commands of the elector.—Then follows the passage given at some length by Dr. Milner, in which Luther entreats the reader to peruse his writings "with discrimination, and even with great compassion," considering what an infatuated papist he had originally been, and with what difficulty he had surmounted his prejudices.

In like manner he says in the preface to his Commentary on the book of Genesis: "I am not one who can be said to have accomplished what he aimed at, or even to have made an approach towards the accomplishment of it: I must take my station in the last and lowest rank, as one who scarcely dares to say, 'I desired to accomplish it.' I speak every thing extemporaneously, and in a style adapted to the common people. Not that I am conscious of having spoken what is false: but I have aimed only at avoiding obscurity, and making myself fully understood."[1]—Seckendorf remarks, however, that when he says he speaks "extemporaneously," he does not mean, without premeditation, and the examination of the best

[1] Opera, vi. Witt. in præf.

commentators; but only without a studied arrangement of words and phrases.[1]—We have seen that on other occasions he spoke of his own writings as of little value compared with the more finished compositions of Melancthon; that he did not wish them to survive the age to which they were addressed; and regarded none of them with satisfaction, unless it were his book on the Bondage of the Will, and his Catechisms.[2] A. D. 1545.

From the coincidence of the subject, I shall take occasion here to insert a letter of his to Brentius, pastor of Halle, in Suabia, though written at an earlier period. It well deserves to be read for the fine spirit which it breathes, and for the answer which it furnishes to the charges of arrogance, to which Luther's bold and uncompromising opposition to every thing that he conceived to be a corruption of divine truth exposed him. It accompanied or was prefixed to Brentius's Commentary on the prophet Amos. Letter to Brentius. 1530.

[1] Seck. iii. 670.

[2] Milner, v. 271. (858.) After presenting these passages, shewing the estimate which Luther made of his own writings, it is but fair to remind the reader of the different opinion expressed concerning them both by Erasmus and Melancthon. The former said of him, "There is more sound theology in one page of his commentaries, than in many large volumes of the schoolmen and other such writers." And again: "I am more instructed and edified by one page of Luther, than by the whole works of Aquinas." Of course these were the early sentiments of Erasmus. Melancthon would have continued more permanently in the sentence which he pronounced: "Pomeranus is a grammarian, and explains the force of language; I am a logician, and demonstrate the bearings of arguments, and the relations of things; Justus Jonas is an orator, and discourses with copiousness and elegance; but Luther is all in all: he is a prodigy among men: whatever he speaks or writes penetrates the very soul, and in a marvellous manner fixes the arrows of conviction in the hearts of men."

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"Grace and peace to you in Jesus Christ our Lord! I return you, my dear friend, your Amos, which you sent me long ago. It is not my fault that it has not been published sooner, but that of the person to whom you entrusted it.

"In the humility of your heart you submitted your work entirely to my judgment, that I should alter, add, expunge at my pleasure: but far be it from me to do any thing of the kind. It is in no case very creditable to exercise one's ingenuity in working upon another man's foundation: and, among Christians, it would be intolerable for one man to set up for master over others who are taught by the same Spirit. It is enough *to prove the spirits, whether they are of God*; and, that being once ascertained, we ought instantly to shew reverence, to lay aside all magisterial airs, and humbly sit down as scholars: for it is impossible for the Holy Spirit to speak, without delivering truths before which every man should bow, and receive them with childlike simplicity.

"But, beside this general deference to what the Spirit teaches, I declare to you that my own writings are very mean in my eyes, when compared with your's, and those of men like you. I do not here flatter you, or put on an assumed humility. I am not praising Brentius, but the spirit with which he is endued, and which shews itself in him much more mild, gentle, and calm than in me. Then also your *composition* is much more skilful than mine: your language flows much more pure, clear, and neat, and thus is more attractive and more efficient. My manner is, to pour forth a torrent and chaos of words.—Moreover it is my destiny to be engaged in an endless succession of fierce conflicts with mon-

sters that baffle description: so that, if it be allowable to use such a comparison, I seem to resemble the fire and the blustering wind in Elijah's vision, while you and your associates are the still small voice—a gentle air which refreshes, and softens, and unbinds.—Your writings therefore please me, and much more will they please others, better than my own. I comfort myself, however, with this thought, that the great heavenly Lord and Father, in the amplitude of his household, has work for servants of different descriptions, and some must be like hard wedges to cleave rugged blocks. God must appear in thunder, as well as in the gentle rain: by his lightning and thunder he agitates and purifies the air, and thus prepares for rendering the earth more richly fruitful. A. D. 1546.

"But I especially admire in you this gift of God, that in all your writings you so faithfully and clearly set forth *the righteousness of faith*: for this is the head corner stone which supports, nay gives existence and life to the church of God; so that without it the church cannot subsist for an hour. No one can teach rightly in the church, nor successfully withstand any of her enemies, who does not hold fast the sound doctrine on this head. I have often felt a mixture of surprise and indignation, that such men as Jerome and Origen should have been considered as, next to the apostles, master-builders in the church; when you can scarcely find three sentences in either of them setting forth this doctrine. Nor would the case have been different with Augustine, but for his controversies with the Pelagians. They compelled him to maintain the righteousness of faith. Thus he became a true father of the church, and almost the only one after the apostles, and its first found-

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ers. Not that I would undervalue *the fathers*; but I think all ought to be admonished to read their writings with a discriminating judgment —according to the rule, *prove all things*. Those who read them otherwise are tossed about with the winds of uncertainty—*ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.* This we ourselves experienced, till the grace of God guided us from the troubled sea into a safe harbour, and set our feet upon this sure rock.—Go on then, my friend, strenuously asserting this truth on every occasion, and even to the satiety of many: for the world is full of writers and declaimers who neglect it, or persecute it, or corrupt it. And no wonder: for this it is which is to crush the serpent's head. Satan therefore cannot fail to direct his opposition against it." [1]

Commentaries on Joel,

To the last year of Luther's life are to be referred his Commentaries on the prophecies of Joel, and on the book of Genesis. He had delivered a previous exposition of Joel, about the year 1536: but the latter was more full and complete. [2]

and on the book of Genesis. 1546.

His exposition of Genesis forms of itself an immense folio volume, the sixth in the Wittemberg edition of his works. Like most of his other expositions, it was delivered in lectures, and not intended for publication, but was taken down by Cruciger, Rorarius, and Vitus Theodorus, and submitted to Luther's correction. It was begun in the year 1536, and not finished till November 1545, within three months of the author's death. It was published in parts, to the first of which Luther himself wrote the preface, an extract from which has already been given. He says fur-

[1] Buddeus, p. 192.

[2] Seck. iii. 666—669.

ther, "I entered upon my lectures on Genesis with no view to their publication, but for the benefit of the students, and that I might keep the minds both of myself and of my audience exercised upon the word of God, and might not spend my old age in sloth and uselessness. I was excited by the words of the Psalm, *I will sing unto the Lord while I have any being.*" He dwells repeatedly on the subsequent inspired writers having drawn so much from the books of Moses, and recommends this to be studiously traced.[1] The book of Genesis he speaks of as a very delightful one, and prays God to raise up persons to do more justice to it than he could do. "I can accomplish no more," he said, as he closed his exposition, "I am infirm: pray that God would grant me a happy dismissal!" He often said, that he could wish to end his life with his exposition of the book of Genesis: and he failed little of having his desire, for he is related never again to have entered the lecture room after he had finished it.[2] A. D. 1546.

His sermons at Wittemberg, Halle, Eisleben, during the last six weeks of his life have been already mentioned. They were taken down, and are printed among his works.[3] Sermons.

In speaking of the works of Luther, Melancthon notices four changes of doctrine which had taken place in the church, between the times of the apostles and the reformation. The first he calls the *Origenian*, in which the church Melancthon on Luther's works.

[1] Elsewhere he writes: "As the critics say that Homer is the father of all poets, and the fountain, nay the ocean of every kind of learning, wisdom, and eloquence; so is Moses the fountain and father of all the prophets and of all the sacred books, that is of *heavenly* wisdom and eloquence." Epist. Aurif. ii. 287.

[2] Seck. iii. 669—691. [3] Ib. 691—693.

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was corrupted by philosophy, and which thus led the way to the errors of Pelagius. The next was the *Augustinian*, "God having raised up the bishop of Hippo to correct the prevailing errors:" and with his doctrine he was satisfied that that of Luther agreed, notwithstanding the dishonest attempts made to prove the contrary. The third was the long reign of ignorance and Rome. The fourth he refers to S. Francis and S. Dominic, who aimed to correct the crying abominations of the times, but, through want of better information, plunged the church in superstition, and substituted the philosophy of Aristotle for the religion of Jesus Christ. All good men, he says, desired a purer doctrine, as well as a reformation of manners: and God graciously raised up Luther to be the instrument of introducing it.

He distributes the writings of the great reformer into three classes—didactic, controversial, and expository: the first laying down the true Christian doctrine on all the most material points; the second refuting the numerous errors opposed to it; and the third illustrating and applying the inspired writings, in all the various ways that the circumstances of mankind required. And the last class, he says, "even by the confession of enemies, surpassed all other expositions that were extant."—But there was another work of Luther's which stood alone, and which, both in labour and in usefulness, Melancthon thinks "equalled all the rest"—his translation of the sacred scriptures into the German language, which was of itself so luminously perspicuous as to supply the want of a commentary; of which, however, it was not destitute; in the brief, but learned annotations, and in the clear arguments of the several parts, which accompa-

nied it. "It was Luther's desire," he finely remarks, in perfect conformity with what we have just heard from the reformer himself, "not to detain men upon his own writings, but to lead them to the original fountain of truth. He wished us to hear the voice of God himself. By that he desired to see true faith produced, and true prayer called forth, that God might be glorified, and numerous souls made heirs of eternal life." [1] A. D. 1546.

[1] In præf. tom. ii. Luth. Op. Wittemb.

APPENDIX.

I.

GREGORY PONTANUS.

(Page 82.)

It may be gratifying to the reader to be put in possession of a few additional particulars concerning this excellent person.

His father was a man of fortune, and the chief magistrate of a town in the neighbourhood of Wittemberg. He removed to that city for the sake of constantly attending the ministry of Luther; in which he took great delight. He had three sons, whom he destined severally to the three learned professions. Gregory had a great taste for literature, and made considerable proficiency in general learning, while he early distinguished himself in his own profession of the law. He studied under Henningus and Jerome Schurff, men of great eminence in their line, the latter of whom has been noticed as Luther's advocate at Worms. He soon began to be consulted by the princes and states, and, when about thirty years of age, was made chancellor by Frederick the Wise. In the year 1520, he accompanied the elector to Cologne, and was present at the conversation between him and Erasmus concerning Luther,

which has been related by Dr. Milner.[1] At the same time he had to reply, by the elector's orders, to Alcander the pope's legate, who urged the commitment of Luther to safe custody. Thus was he introduced to the great question of the reformation at a critical period, and he ever afterwards continued a fast friend to the cause.—At the diet of Worms he held frequent communications with Mercurinus Gattinara, the emperor's chief minister; which, it may be concluded, would confirm the latter in the moderate and tolerant counsels which he suggested.[2]—Of his conduct at the diet of Augsburg, nothing more need here be stated, except that, as much was then attributed to the ἐπιείκεια, the mildness of Melancthon, so much also was ascribed to the χρηστολογία, the happy eloquence of Pontanus. He was ever favourable to pacific measures; and, when the Smalkaldic war was likely to break out, he declared that he would always share the fortune of the protestant princes, but would never instigate them to fight.—He enjoyed the uninterrupted favour of those princes, as well as the friendship of most

[1] Milner, iv. 485. (468.)

[2] Above, pp. 18, 19. Beausobre, (Hist. de la Ref. iv. 231—239.) gives us from Celestine a speech addressed by Gattinara, in the emperor's name, to the pope in council, at Bologna, which does him high honour, for its manly exposure of the evils under which the church groaned, of the necessity of pacific measures, and of a reformation, *according to the holy scriptures*, in doctrine, as well as in manners and discipline. The pope replied in such an evasive manner, and with such assertions of his own supreme authority, as might be expected from one in his station. When Gattinara would have spoken further, the pope refused to hear him: on which the emperor took up the subject in person, in such a style as it might have been well for himself and the world had he subsequently adhered to. Beausobre, ib. 239—251.—Gattinara was made a cardinal in his latter days.

of the learned men of his time. His latter days were much employed in devotion, in which he daily commended the church and his own family to the divine grace and blessing. He died in peace at Jena, February 20, 1557, having attained the age of seventy years. He was well versed in the holy scriptures, and in the history and the controversies of the church: he studied religion, however, mainly for practical purposes. His eloquence is much celebrated, and it was aided by a fine and powerful voice, a comely presence, and a dignified deportment. He firmly advocated what he thought right, even though it might not be agreeable to his superiors; yet he knew how to yield a ready concurrence, when advice was suggested which approved itself to his judgment, though his previous impressions might have been different. He was greatly superior to the love of money; nor did he use his influence in the courts of princes to subserve the purposes of private ambition. He had obtained a noble command over his passions, particularly anger, to which he was naturally prone. The elector Frederick, he said, had been his first preceptor in this art: but he had frequently in his mouth the words of the Saviour, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart;" and he observed, that he deprecated being hindered in prayer, and other necessary duties, by the influence of angry or resentful feelings.

His speech at Augsburg.

I subjoin the substance of his reply to the elector of Brandenburg, referred to in the history.

"The sentiments of the elector of Saxony towards our most gracious emperor have been before this sufficiently manifested; and it appears that no one of the protestant princes has

been wanting to his duty, whether in resisting the Turks, in suppressing the insurgents in Germany, or in any other service. They declare themselves to be ever mindful of the rule, *Render to Cesar the things which are Cesar's, and to God the things which are God's.* It is not from private interest, from idle caprice, from delusion, or any blind impulse of passion, that these princes have embraced the doctrine now explained in their confession: but having, after long consideration, and careful examination of the sacred scriptures, and of the testimonies of antiquity, been convinced of its truth, they could not reject it, lest they should incur the awful sentence denounced on those who sin against the Holy Ghost. For the divine glory, therefore, for the salvation of their own souls, and for the sake of others well affected towards religion, (whose number is not small,) they will, by the help of God still confess this doctrine, and cause it to be taught in their churches. And since, on account of the manifest audacity of the papal advocates, who deny that any errors and corruptions can be proved against them, all pious persons throughout Europe demand, even with sighs and tears, that a reformation should be made by a lawful council, these princes demand the same; and assure themselves that our most gracious emperor, who is sensible that reformation is necessary, will not, after the hopes that he has held out, take up arms in order to gratify the impiety and cruelty of other people, to establish the errors and corruptions of the papacy, and to suppress the truth which sets forth the glory of the Son of God, and sets forward the salvation of the souls of men.—Most respectfully, therefore, do the princes commend both them-

selves and the whole church to the gracious condescension of the emperor, beseeching him to consider with what dire confusions we are threatened, which (as the history of the late Bohemian wars demonstrates,) may better be prevented by lenient and healing measures, than by repeated victories. The truth itself can never be crushed, let who may fall in its defence: no, it will still rise up again, and the gates of hell can never prevail against it."

This address produced a strong, and not in all present a very agreeable sensation: but the elector of Mentz observed, "It was not to be wondered at, that the severe speech of his brother should meet with a somewhat harsh reply:" and the emperor prevented any further altercation, by ordering it to be declared, "That he would do what became a Christian emperor." —Melch. Adam. in Pontano.

II.

DIET OF AUGSBURG.

(Page 94.)

Being aware that the "Histoire de la Reformation" of Beausobre did not extend beyond the year 1530, (with which I commence,) and also having learned from Dr. Milner not to expect much assistance from that work,[1] it was not till after my own chapter on the Diet and Confession of Augsburg was both written and printed, that I read that portion of Beausobre's history which relates to the same subject. Having

[1] Milner, v. 212, 234, 238. (795, 819, 824.)

since had occasion to examine it, I am gratified with the confirmation which it affords to my own narrative. There is one point, however, which I feel myself called to notice. He gives us from Celestine [1] the substance of a letter, or part of a letter, dated July 6, 1530, and purporting to have been written by Melancthon to the cardinal legate Campeggio, which it must be confessed exhibits sentiments very different from what the preceding history will have led my readers to expect; very different also, I must add, from what I have elsewhere met with from the pen of that highly gifted and excellent man. He is here made to say, "That he and his party were ready to receive peace on any terms; that they had no dogma which differed from the church of Rome, and that, if they disputed with her, it was only on some articles which might more properly be referred to the schools; that the reformers had repressed those who sought to spread pernicious doctrines; that they were ready to obey the church of Rome, on condition that she would treat them with that clemency which she uniformly shewed to all, and connive or relax on some points of little importance, which it was no longer in the power of the protestants to alter; that they honoured with profound respect the authority of the Roman pontiff, and all the ecclesiastical hierarchy; that all the favour asked by them was, that the pope would have the goodness not to reject them; that nothing had made them so odious in Germany as the constancy with which they defended some of the doctrines of the church of Rome; and, finally, that, with the grace of God, they would remain faithful, to the last

A Letter ascribed to Melancthon:

[1] Cœlest. iii. 18.

breath, to Jesus Christ, and to the church of Rome."

"This letter," Beausobre proceeds, "was followed by a memoir, which contained the following proposals: 1. That the pope would have the goodness to concede to the protestants communion under both kinds, particularly as the protestants did not blame those who communicated in one kind only, and confessed that the body of Jesus Christ, entire, together with his blood, was received under the sole species of bread: 2. That his holiness would allow the marriage of priests: 3. That he would allow, or at least tolerate, the marriages already contracted by priests and other religious persons, and dispense with their vows. As to their mass, says the writer of the memoir, we retain its principal ceremonies, only they are not so numerous with us as in other churches: but if the preceding articles are granted to us, I do not doubt that it will be easy for us to re-unite on that of the mass."[1] and a Memorial.

These representations are so gratifying to one of the most active papal advocates of the present day, Mr. Charles Butler, that he has lately brought them forward in not less than three distinct publications.[2] I have availed myself of his translation of the papers as far as it goes. I must observe, however, that the insertion of the words "some of," before "the doctrines of the church of Rome," in Melancthon's letter, is without authority: the letter makes the writer and his associates to have incurred odium by defending *the doctrines*, or *the doctrine (dogmata, la doctrine,)* of the Romish church gene-

[1] Beausobre, iv. 358—360.

[2] Historic Accounts, &c. Book of the R. C. Church, and Life of Erasmus.

rally.—Again, in the second article of the memorial he suppresses the reason assigned why the pope should permit marriage to the priests—puisqu'on savoit que la plupart avoient des concubines—"since it was well known that the most of them kept concubines."—And yet again, in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," he falls into the egregious error of making this memorial to "have accompanied the confession of Augsburg, when it was presented to Charles V.:" whereas Beausobre's statement is, that it "followed" a letter said to have been written, nearly a fortnight after that event, to the pope's legate; and in fact never appears to have been submitted to the emperor at all.[1]

Mr. Butler observes that Beausobre does not doubt the authenticity of the letter; a sort of notice which raises a suspicion that it is not fully to be relied upon. And accordingly Beausobre admits that it is disputed: Seckendorf says, "It is left in doubt whether Melanthon ever wrote such a letter:" and, from the conclusion of his section, I conceive him to mean that it was doubted by Celestine as well as by himself. It appears also that our knowledge of it is derived only from a copy sent home by the Venetian envoy—which, it is obvious, might admit of any required degree of falsification; and that it is quite inconsistent with what Melancthon was writing to other persons at the same period, and to the confidence which Luther was expressing in him, "that he had conceded, and would concede nothing prejudicial to evangelical truth."[2]—It is yet further to be observed, that the same author,

[1] Beausobre, iv. 359, 361. [2] Seck. ii. 189—191.

Celestine, from whom these papers are copied, gives three others, as all belonging to this period, and the first and last of which he ascribes to the pen of Melancthon: whereas Seckendorf feels himself obliged to discredit the first altogether, partly *because of its going so much into the opposite extreme,* of harshness and vehemence against the church of Rome; to consider the second as questionable, and certainly not relating to the diet of Augsburg; and to conclude the third, though written by Melancthon, to be of a later date.

As to the internal evidence of the letter, is it possible to consider its sentiments and its language without feeling incredulity take possession of one's mind? To hear Melancthon declare, not only that he and his friends were "ready to receive peace on any terms," but that they "had no dogma which differed from the church of Rome!!" that they were "ready to obey her, on condition that she would treat them with that clemency which she uniformly shewed to all men!"—the clemency uniformly shewn by the church of Rome to all men!!—that they "honoured with profound respect the authority of the Roman pontiff, and all the ecclesiastical hierarchy!" that "nothing had made them so odious in Germany as the constancy with which they defended"—not *some of* the doctrines, but—"the doctrines," generally, "of the church of Rome!" and that they "would remain faithful to her to their last breath!" Demonstrative indeed must be the evidence that can convince me, after considering the many passages written by Melancthon, or relating to him, which are brought forward in this volume, and the many others which these papers have led me to review in Seck-

endorf, that he ever wrote sentences like these.

The improbability is rendered still more revolting, when we are admonished by Beausobre and Mr. Butler, not to hold "Melancthon alone responsible for this relaxation," as there are "strong reasons" to believe that propositions, which they consider as much of the same tenor, were not suggested without the knowledge of Luther himself!

Mr. Butler concludes, "Thus Melancthon, and the theologians who coöperated with him, saw, in the Roman catholic church, no SUPERSTITION or IDOLATRY.[1]" On this subject the reader is referred to the will of Melancthon, to his report on the state of the diocese of Cologne, and to his recital of Luther's sentiments concerning prayers to departed saints; all of which are before him in the present volume.[2]

Our reliance on Mr. Butler's citation of authorities, and on his inferences from them, must be much shaken by such an instance as the following. At the close of his remarks on these papers he says: "Cardinal Pallavicini mentions, on the authority of a letter of the cardinal legate Campegio, that 'the parties (at Augsburg) were on the foot of coming to an agreement, when some injudicious publications, which he mentions, rekindled the discord.'—Probably" (Mr. B. adds,) "these injudicious publications talked of 'POPERY,' and its SUPERSTITION and IDOLATRY.'" Now I found some reason from Seckendorf to suspect, that the "injudicious" writers here referred to were no other than the papal advocates, Faber and

[1] Book of R. C. Church, p. 340.
[2] Above, pp. 297-8, 364, 507.

Eccius: but I confess I did not expect to find, in Mr. Butler's own author, Beausobre, the following passage: "One cannot give credit to what Pallavicini reports on the authority of a letter of Campeggio's to Aleander, that agreement was on the point of being effected, when FABER *having, very mal à propos, published a book entitled, The Contradictions of Luther, and* ECCIUS *another, entitled a Catalogue of Heretics,* in which he inserted the name of Melancthon, the fury of the protestant faction, which seemed to have been extinguished, was all at once rekindled!" [1]

Beausobre on Melancthon.

On the whole, I think that, as Dr. Milner had occasion to complain of Beausobre's "uncandid and even abusive censure of Luther," [2] so we need not scruple, after what we have seen, and especially after combining the following passage with it, to charge him with having no disinclination to lower the character of Melancthon, notwithstanding the commendations he has bestowed upon him. Having mentioned the aversion of Melancthon as well as of Luther to unite with the Swiss, since termed the 'reformed' churches, (to which communion Beausobre himself belonged,) he says, "Thus did Melancthon support two very opposite characters. While, for the purpose of obtaining from the legate a fallacious toleration of the church of which he was a member, he employed his utmost exertions to veil the real discrepancies which existed between the doctrines of Luther and those of Rome, he made similar efforts to discover essential differences between the tenets of the Lutherans

[1] Beausobre, iv. 430. [2] Milner, v. 582. (1129.)

and those of the reformed churches; and refused to the latter, on account of a single point of disagreement, that union which he offered to the Roman catholics at the expense of many certain and evident truths. But, when the times have changed, and the grounds of alarm have vanished, we shall see Melancthon return to his natural character, and be the first to seek that fraternal union which he before obstructed."[1]

Mosheim's Testimony.

As a counterpoise to the quotations which have come before us in this article, I present the following passage of Mosheim, which I take to be perfectly just.—"It was in these conferences (at Augsburg) that the spirit and character of Melancthon appeared in their true and genuine colours; and it was here that the votaries of Rome exhausted their efforts to gain over to their party this pillar of the reformation, whose abilities and virtues added such a lustre to the protestant cause. This humane and gentle spirit was apt to sink into a kind of yielding softness under the influence of mild and generous treatment. And, accordingly, while his adversaries soothed him with fair words and flattering promises, he seemed to melt as they spoke, and, in some measure, to comply with their demands; but, when they so far forgot themselves as to make use of imperious language and menacing terms, then did Melancthon appear in a very different point of light; then a spirit of intrepidity, ardour, and independence, animated all his words and actions, and he looked down with contempt on the threats of power, the favours of fortune,

[1] Beausobre, iv. 400.

and the fear of death. The truth is, that, in this great and good man, a soft and yielding temper was joined with the most inviolable fidelity, and the most invincible attachment to the truth."[1]

A Letter of Luther's.

I take this opportunity of introducing one more specimen of Luther's correspondence at the period of the diet, though it has no relation to the points discussed in this article. It is addressed to Spalatinus at Augsburg.

"That the kings, the princes, and the people where you are should rage, and rave against the Lord's Christ, I think a happy omen—much better than if they used flatteries and caresses. It follows: *He that sitteth in heaven shall laugh them to scorn.* But, when our prince laughs, I see not why we should weep. For he laughs not for his own sake but for our's; that we too, in the exercise of faith, may laugh at the vain counsels of these men. So much need is there of *faith* to support the cause of *faith*!—But he that began this work certainly did it without our counsel or assistance. He also hath protected it hitherto, and hath directed it above our conceptions: he it is who also will carry on and perfect it, beyond our expectations: of this I have no doubt. I know and am sure that he, in whom I believe, is able to do above all that we ask or think. Yet Philip (Melancthon) expects and wishes him to act within the limit of *his* plans, that he may be permitted to glory. 'Certainly,' (he

[1] Mosheim, iii. 357, 358.

is ready to say,) 'so it ought to have been done: so *I* would have done!' I Philip, forsooth!—But enough of this. Be you, my friend, strong in the Lord; and exhort Philip, in my name, not to aspire at God's place.[1] Let him resist that innate ambition of divinity, which was infused by the devil in paradise: for it does not become us. It thrust Adam and Eve out of Eden, and it disturbs us, and destroys our peace."[2]

III.

LUTHER'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE DEVIL—BOSSUET'S PROTESTANT VARIATIONS.

(Page 231.)

It is in his work on private masses (noticed in the page referred to,) that Luther gives the account, of which such an extraordinary use has been made by many of his more bigoted adversaries. Even Bossuet refers to it repeatedly, and is not ashamed to make the following statement of it in the first part of his History of Variations, book iv. § 17. "At this time Luther set forth his book against private mass, where that famous conference is to be found which he formerly had with the angel of darkness, and where, forced by *his* reasons, he abolishes, like an impious wretch, that mass, which, if we may believe him, he had said for so many years with so much devotion. Wonderful is it to see

[1] *Ne fiat Deus.* He means by taking the charge and care of things upon himself; thinking they must go wrong if they did not go according to his wishes.

[2] Melch. Ad. in Luth.

how seriously and graphically he describes his awaking, as in a surprise, in the dead of night; *the manifest apparition* of the devil to dispute with him; 'the terror he was seized with.... the cogent arguments of the demon, who leaves no respite to the mind; the sound of his thundering voice; his oppressive ways of arguing, when he makes both question and answer to be perceived at once.... By the way, he informs us that the devil frequently attacked him in this manner; and, to judge of the other attacks by this, it is to be believed that he had learned many other things from him, besides the condemnation of the mass.... I mean not to enlarge on so trite a subject: I am satisfied with having observed that God, for the confusion, or rather the conversion of the church's enemies, hath permitted Luther to fall into so great a blindness as to own, I do not say, that he was *tormented* by the devil, (which might be common to him with many saints;) but what is peculiar to him, that he was *converted* by his agency, and that the spirit of falsehood had been his *tutor* in one of the principal points of his reformation.—In vain," the bishop adds, "do they here pretend, that the devil disputed against Luther, only to cast him into despair by convincing him of his crime; for the dispute had not that tendency. When Luther appears convinced, and to have nothing more to answer, the devil presses no further on, and Luther rests satisfied that he had learned a truth of which he was before ignorant. If this be true, how horrible to have been tutored by such a master! If Luther fancied it, what illusions, what black thoughts harboured in his mind! If he invented it, how dismal a story was this to glory in!"

Remarks. A certain eminent person, on having a very extravagant proposition stated to him, as the result of a long chain of recondite reasoning, exclaimed, 'There is nonsense in it somewhere, I venture to pronounce it.' So, on reading such a statement as this, we need not hesitate to pronounce, There is *falsehood* in it somewhere —the falsehood either of misapprehension or of misrepresentation. And, what is little to the advantage of the Bishop of Meaux's reputation, that falsehood appears to have been publicly exposed, in a distinct dissertation of the learned Seckendorf a few years before the "Histoire des Variations" appeared.—Even previously to examination we might ask, Was it credible that Luther, after having in every way asserted, for sixteen years, that he had derived his doctrine from the scriptures and from God, should now gratuitously, and without any motive for it, avow that he received a principal point of that doctrine,—namely, that in the mass no propitiatory sacrifice was offered to God—from a black inspiration, and the immediate suggestion of the devil? Can any one believe this?—Then what is the authority for the story? Cochlæus, the contemporary and virulent enemy of Luther, gives a very different version of it: not that Luther had learned from the devil that the mass was no sacrifice, but that that evil agent had suggested to him arguments to prove, that for fifteen years together he had committed idolatry in celebrating mass. After the time of Cochlæus, it would seem, an obscure abbot had first given the present turn to it, and from him it has been retained by a succession of popish writers down to the abbot of Cordemoi (whom Seckendorf answered,) and Bossuet. Maimbourg was perhaps ashamed of it, for he passes

it over in profound silence, even when noticing the work of Luther from which it was professedly derived.

After all, however, it is a simple question of fact: Does Luther make such a statement in the book referred to? And the proper answer and explanation appear to be contained in the following observations. 1. Luther wrote his work in German. The version referred to by these writers (Luth. Oper. edit. Witt. vii. 226 &c.) is by Justus Jonas, and is rather an abstract, than a complete copy, as appears by frequent chasms supplied by an *&c.* 2. In the very introduction of the story (p. 228.) a material omission occurs. Luther says, "Satan commenced a disputation within my heart." Jonas, in abstracting, leaves out the words *within my heart*, with a parenthesis which follows them, and soon after another long sentence; all of which, says Seckendorf, demonstrate that Luther spoke of no visible appearance of Satan, but of a temptation carried on by means of his own thoughts.—So much for the "manifest apparition" of the devil to him. 3. As to the drift of the "conference," the bishop does not at all help his cause by attempting to obviate the answer which had been given to his statement; it only shews that he was aware of it, but would not allow it its due weight: for from the whole sequel of the passage in question it appears, that the conflict, which Luther "so graphically describes," was with *a temptation to despair*, drawn from the impieties of which he had been guilty, in the unchristian and idolatrous services that he had performed during many years as a monk. "You know that for fifteen years together you celebrated private masses: what then if such masses were a horri-

Facts of the case.

ble idolatry?.... You have had no knowledge of God, no true faith. You have been no better than a Turk."—"Convicted by the law of God," Luther says, "I confess before my adversary that I had sinned, and was condemned, like Judas; but I turn me to Christ, like Peter; I regard his infinite merit and mercy; and immediately he abrogates all my dreadful condemnation."—He treats at considerable length, and in general terms, of such temptations, in a strain which shews the purport of the whole passage. "The temptations of Satan are crafty, and well calculated to deceive. He lays hold of some truth which cannot be denied, and yet so turns it about and applies it that it might deceive the most wary. So the thought which seized the heart of Judas was true, *I betrayed the innocent blood.* Judas could not deny it: but the falsehood was in the inference, 'Therefore thou must despair of the mercy of God.' But the devil so pressed this false inference home upon Judas, that he could not stand against it, but sunk into despair."—Taking all this into view, the honest Seckendorf indignantly exclaims, "They therefore, who affirm that Luther acknowledged himself to have been convinced by the devil that the mass was no sacrifice, are guilty of a palpable and gross falsehood."—4. Once more; This whole statement assumes, that Luther had never denied the sacrifice of the mass till after the conflict referred to, which appears to have been not earlier than the month of May 1521. But this is quite contrary to fact, as Seckendorf demonstrates by quotations from his writings of a prior date.[1] In this account both Basnage (who wrote in answer to

Temptations of Satan.

[1] Seck. i. 166—169.

Bossuet,) and bishop Atterbury concur. Bayle, indeed, thinks the explanation of the language concerning Satan's addresses to Luther, as mere suggestions through the medium of his own thoughts, not satisfactory: but it seems to me that his objection arises merely from misapprehending other passages of Luther's upon similar subjects: and he admits that Seckendorf's tract (and Seckendorf proceeds entirely upon the ground here stated,) is "a solid answer to the abbot of Cordemoi."—There is the more need to expose this shameful and preposterous story against Luther, as I am informed that it has lately been served up in the shape of a small tract, to enlighten the lower classes of our population!

Remarks on Bossuet's History of Variations.

A few more general remarks may here be made on the celebrated work of Bossuet, to which we have had occasion repeatedly to advert. It is indeed, in every sense of the word, a most *imposing* performance. Very confident, very elaborate, presenting the appearance of an intimate acquaintance with the writings and the whole history of the reformers, holding up a glaring picture suited to catch every eye, it is sure to carry along with it all whose prejudices previously incline them to the side of the question which the author advocates, and is well calculated to seduce even those whose prepossessions lie the contrary way, unless they be more than ordinarily wary. Yet, withal, I conceive it to be throughout completely fallacious; the work of one preëminently skilled "to make the worse appear the better reason." It is so with respect to the boasted unity and unvarying concord of the Romish church, which has been often exposed, and which seems very much to consist in its members proclaiming, each one

for himself, 'I believe whatever holy church believes,' while they are avowing, perhaps, the most widely different sentiments. It is so in the representation which it makes of the doctrines of the same church. This also presents a notable instance of the uniformity that has prevailed in that communion; for it was not without great difficulty, and a delay of many years, that the bishop of Meaux could obtain any sanction of his exposition of the faith of the church, which was pronounced by the university of Louvain "scandalous and pernicious."[1] It is the same as it respects the doctrines of the reformers. Where these are undeniably good, the author represents them as stolen from the church of Rome:[2] where they cannot be so represented, he exaggerates the differences of the reformed churches one from another—often, for this purpose, citing the opinions of individuals as the tenets of public bodies.—The great internal counteraction to its poison, which the book carries with it, is to be found in its so much *overdoing*. Of this, as well as of the distrust with which its citations are to be received, we have had glaring proof in the instance which introduced these remarks. It may be illustrated also in the case of many important doctrines. Not only does the author insist upon it, that the real presence in the eucharist maintained by Luther was the same with that held by the church of Rome, but also that the Romish doctrine of *merit* was no other than that admitted by the reformers! Nay that Luther's doctrine of gratuitous justification did not differ from what the same church had always taught!!

[1] Mosheim iv. 303, 304. [2] Above, pp. 322, 363.

The "protestant variation" on which he most of all insists is that concerning the sacrament —the worship of the church, according to him, "chiefly consisting in the sacrifice of the altar." The want of decision, and of uniformity of language, which may be traced on some other points, arose mainly from an anxious desire, on the part of the protestants, to conciliate, and for that purpose to come as near as they conscientiously could to that church, whose advocate thus turns this defect of firmness to their reproach.

The following passage well describes the system pursued throughout the "History of Variations," and the impression left by the work upon my mind. "The favourite system of aggression, which the Roman catholic writers, from the most ignorant bigot to the most powerful polemic, have adopted against the protestant faith, has been the crimination of the great leaders of the reformation in Germany, France, and England. . . . Where misrepresentation has failed, direct falsehoods have been advanced with an intrepidity, which the modern Romanist, in many instances, prudently and properly declines to exhibit. . . . The protestant who reads the foreign histories of our reformation, that of Davanzati, for instance, or even Bossuet, is at first absolutely bewildered by assertions, supported by no proof whatever, but advanced in a tone as peremptory as if they were 'truths of holy writ:' as he proceeds, however, he finds so many statements which he knows to be false, that he recovers from the temporary shock which his faith had sustained, and settles into a rooted and perpetual mistrust of such authorities for the future."—The writer here quoted goes on to observe, This mode of

controversy "is not merely inconclusive, but recoils with tremendous and destructive force upon those who employ it."[1]

It has struck me in reading the bishop of Meaux's work, that a writer equally able, equally unflinching, and, in particular, acting under the influence of a misguided conscience, would find little difficulty in composing much such a book, drawn from the New Testament itself, and directed against Christianity, as he has composed, professedly from the writings of the reformers, against the reformation. The xxiiid chapter of S. Matthew would be made to furnish specimens of the violent and unmeasured language in which the founder of the system indulged, even against characters the most venerable for rank and station. The answers, "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs," and "Let the dead bury the dead: but go thou and preach the kingdom of God;" would be converted into proofs of insolence and imperiousness: while the sentences, "I am not come to send peace upon earth, but a sword:" "I am come to send fire on the earth, and what will I if it be already kindled;" would be considered as avowals, that the author of the doctrine cared not what consequences followed from his attempts to establish it. The epistles to the Galatians and the Corinthians would be eminently serviceable to the composer of such a work. They would detect the same disagreements occurring among some principal agents in the cause,[2] as are objected to the protestants; the same divisions and contentions among their converts; and abuses of sacred ordinances not less gross.

[1] Quarterly Review, Dec. 1825, pp. 1—3. [2] Gal. ii. 11—14.

Nay, the foulest charge of all, that men became more immoral and vile after embracing the reformed doctrine than ever before, would not be without its parallel from the very words of an apostle—"such fornication among you as is not so much as named among the gentiles."—Yet who does not see that all would be perversion and misrepresentation, and of no real weight? As it *would* be in the one case, so *is* it in the other.

IV.

LUTHER IN PRIVATE LIFE.

THE following particulars of Luther's manners in private life, collected by Melchior Adam, may not be uninteresting to the reader.

"At meal times he frequently dictated sentiments to be written down by others, or corrected proof sheets of his works. Sometimes he entertained himself and his guests with music.—Melancthon says it often surprised him to observe how little a man of Luther's size and strength ate and drank. He declares that sometimes for four days together, he would take nothing; and at other times he would be satisfied with a bit of bread and a herring daily. When invited to entertainments he frequently did not go, that he might not waste his time; and he often complained that it was esteemed uncivil to decline invitations, while yet it was injurious to accept them.—When he wished to relax himself from study, he took pleasure in playing at chess, in which he was very skilful. He practised also the art of turning, and sometimes threw at a mark. He was fond of horti-

culture, and collected seeds from his various friends for the improvement of his garden. In short, his activity was incessant. 'I am full of business,' he says on one occasion: 'the practice of psalmody' (probably including the composition of hymns, and the metrical version of psalms,) 'demands my entire powers: my sermons do the same: my prayers and other devotions might employ a third self; and my expositions a fourth: to say nothing of my correspondence, my engagements in other people's business, and my intercourse with my friends.'—His liberality to the poor was unbounded and almost excessive. When a student on a journey once solicited assistance, which his wife declined, pleading the want of money, Luther took up a silver cup and gave it to him, telling him to sell it and keep the money. On another occasion, two hundred pieces of gold having been sent him from the mines, he distributed the whole among the poorer scholars at Wittemberg. When the elector John once sent him a present of clothing, he wrote him word back, That it was 'more than he wished: if he was thus to receive the reward of all his labours in this life, there would remain none for the life to come.'—The same prince having offered him a share in some mines, he declined it, lest it should become a snare to him.—He mentions also that he took no money from his printers, but only such copies of his books as he had occasion for, and those but few.—He was exceedingly affectionate to his family, and took great care of their education, keeping a tutor in the house to instruct them. When he saw the death of his elder daughter, Magdalene, approaching, he read to her that passage of Isaiah xxvi, *Thy*

dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come my people, enter thou into thy chamber, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpassed. He then said, 'My daughter, enter thou into thy resting place in peace: I shall soon be with thee, for God will not suffer me to see the evils that are coming upon Germany.' Saying this he wept profusely; but at the funeral he so restrained himself in public, as not to shed a single tear.

"In person, he was of the middle size, strongly built. His eye was brilliant and penetrating, so that not every one could bear to meet its full gaze. It is said that a man, once sent to assassinate him, was so overpowered by his glance, that he hastily retired from his presence. His voice was neither powerful nor very clear.

"He lived happily in the married state for more than twenty years. His widow (who survived him seven years,) was compelled by the wars, which followed her husband's death, to lead, in some degree, a wandering life. At length, on being driven from Wittemberg by the plague, she removed to Torgau: but the horses taking fright by the way, she leaped from the carriage in which she was travelling, more from anxiety about her children than herself; and was so much injured by her fall that she died three months after, at the age of fifty two."

The following sentences are quoted from him by the same biographer.

Good Works. "As the fruit never produces the tree, so works never make the man good. The tree must first be produced, and then the fruit follows: so a man being first made good, good works follow—not to make him good, but to testify that he *is* good."

Temptation. On temptations, particularly, we must suppose, those of blasphemous thoughts, he advises, "First, that the tempted should avoid solitude, and should converse with others on passages of the Psalms, and other parts of scripture: then, as a very effectual remedy, though one difficult to be applied, that they should persuade themselves that the thoughts which harass them are not their own, but Satan's, and so not attempt to reason with them and overcome them, but turn away from them, and apply their minds to something else; for to do otherwise would only exasperate the evil to a dangerous degree.

Preachers. He advised preachers, "when they saw the attention of their congregations at the height, to conclude: the people would be the more anxious to come again." It need not be said that the advice must be taken with some allowance, lest we throw away a certain opportunity, for an uncertain one.

The Confession. Concerning the diet of Augsburg, he said: "Many think that a great expence was incurred there with no good result; but, if the cost had been twice as much, the exposure made of the popish sophistry, and of the calumnies circulated against the protestants, would have well repaid it.—Brentius also pronounced, that the charges, attending all the diets within their memory, would have been well paid in exchange for such a treasure, as the Confession and the Defence of it."

I subjoin the substance of two more letters, both of which contain proofs of his tender sympathy with his friends. Letters

To Cordatus, on the death of his son.

"Grace and peace to you in Christ. May he comfort you, my dear Cordatus, under your present affliction! for who else can assuage your grief? I can easily enter into all you write, for I know the heart of a father, and that an event of this kind pierces it more keenly than a two-edged sword. But you should think it no wonder, if He, who is more truly and properly his father, than you are, chose rather, from the love he bore him, to have your child, nay let me say *his* child, with himself, than with you. He is more safe there than he could be here.—But I am sensible that it is in vain to urge these considerations, under the anguish of a recent stroke. I will allow you then for the present to grieve: greater and better men than we have done it, and been blameless.—No doubt it will be beneficial for you to have undergone a trial of this kind also, and to have felt the workings of conscience under it, that you may experimentally know the power of the word and of faith, which is discovered in such circumstances.—Salute the partner of your sorrows. Still let your joy in a living Saviour surpass your grief for a deceased son—or rather a son still living though withdrawn from you. My wife and all our family desire to be remembered to you. 2 April, 1530." [1] to Cordatus

[1] Strobel. No. 98.

To Justus Jonas.

and Justus Jonas.

"Grace and peace to you in Christ. Although I never expected or wished that my writings should obtain any lasting fame or authority in the world, but was ever well content if I might prove the means of leading men to study and understand the scriptures, and thus, under the Holy Spirit's guidance, to drink copiously from those overflowing fountains, rather than to sip from my tiny rills; yet perceiving how few rightly handle the inspired writings—how many, pervert and distort them, following *their own spirits*, I begin to regard what I have written with less aversion than I did, and to be less unwilling that it should spread in the world. For, though I am nothing, and in my own native tongue am but rude and barbarous,[1] yet certainly I have always taught zealously and faithfully that which is the very basis of all Christian truth, namely the doctrine of grace, justification, and the remission of sins: so that here I may glory in the Lord with S. Paul, and say, *Though rude in speech, yet not in knowledge*.....

"The notion of human righteousness, or that of works is so deeply rooted in men's hearts, that they find it impossible to detach it from the righteousness of faith or grace. And no wonder: for I myself have found by numberless severe conflicts continued to this very day, how arduous a thing it is, how purely it is a matter of divine gift, to have the knowledge of the doctrine, that we are justified by grace without works, that faith in Christ alone is the

[1] A very different opinion than others have formed. "Sermonem patrium ditavgrit" would be applied to him.

only righteousness of the saints,—to have this knowledge rooted and turned into a principle in the soul. This far exceeds the capacity of the human heart, and the conceptions of mankind. What can they do here, who, without any experience of this kind,[1] promise themselves every thing from the bare perusal of the scriptures, and that so presumptuously conducted, that, when they have once read over a book, they are confident they comprehend the whole of its contents? Such men learn to repeat the words, Faith justifies, Works do not justify; but, when those parts of scripture come before them, in which these truths are most beautifully and most forcibly set forth, they are blind and deaf and dumb to them; they have not a word to say upon them: thereby evidently declaring that they have learned the terms, indeed, from us, but remain perfect strangers to the thing.—But to expound the scriptures and pass over this article is no other than to darken and corrupt them: for there is scarcely a syllable which is not directed to this end—to give us the knowledge of Christ.

"When I consider these things, I am willing that some of my books should be translated into Latin, and added to the excellent writings of this age, like the haircloth to the purple hangings of the tabernacle: and among the rest that my expositions of the prophet Jonah should receive this honour from your eloquent pen.... I doubt not that my book will be so improved in your hands, as henceforth to pass for yours and not mine: but in that I shall rejoice, and take such a theft for an act of great kindness. I do not flatter you, and secretly gratify myself in speak-

[1] *Of these things*—the conflicts above mentioned.

ing thus: but my zeal consumes me, when I see how the whole world disregards, nay opposes and execrates the great theme of the gospel, while the eloquence of all nations is employed in celebrating what is mere dross and dung in comparison with it.

"But I hope that the employment will be profitable to yourself, and that *Jonas* in translating *Jonas* will find his own reward. I trust the work will tend to heal the wound you have received in the too early death of a fourth son! You will hear my Jonas saying to you, 'Jonas why weepest thou? Behold me plunged for three days and three nights in the depth of the sea, in the belly of hell. Thy grief is deep, but not like mine.... Yet remember the compassion of God, which passeth all understanding. He would not suffer me to perish, but brought me up again safe, and triumphant over both the sea and the sea-monster.'....

"So my Jonas will speak to you, and much better than I can do. I commend you therefore to one another, that, as you agree in name, so you may be united in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. That this may be your portion and mine for ever, may He grant, who is our peace and consolation—Jesus Christ. blessed for ever. Amen."—May 1530.[1]

V.

LUTHER'S "TABLE TALK."

It may have been observed that no use has been made in this volume, nor any, I believe, in Dr. Milner's volumes, of the work which

[1] Strobel. No. 99.

passes under the above title. No doubt it may contain many amusing and many good things: but it has been the fruitful source of those absurd stories, and extravagant sayings, which have greatly lowered the character of Luther with many superficial readers: and the reason for not here making any use of it shall be assigned by bishop Atterbury. "It is a book," he says, "not received into the canon by the learned. It depends purely on the credit of one Van Sparr, that tells a blind story of his finding it in the ruins of an old house, many years after Luther, and Aurifaber the pretended compiler, were dead: but, should it be genuine, yet no fair adversary would urge loose *table talk* against a man in controversy, and build serious inferences upon what perhaps was spoken but in jest.—It may serve to divert a reader, but is not fit to convince him."[1]

It is the more hard that Luther should have suffered from a publication of this kind, when he had thus addressed his friends, concerning such even of his written papers, as might by any means have come into their hands. "I entreat them, in the name of Christ, not to be ready to publish such things, either while I live or after my death. From the times in which I live, and from the part I am obliged to act, it cannot but be that many strange thoughts should *bubble up* in my mind by night and by day, which the impossibility of otherwise retaining them obliges me to note down upon paper like a confused chaos, in the fewest words possible, for future use. But to publish such things, however obtained, would be both ungrateful and inhuman.... Not that they are wicked and bad,

[1] Answer to Considerations, pp. 26, 55, 78.

but because many of them, when I am able coolly to reflect upon them, appear to myself foolish and to be rejected. Wherefore I again entreat that no one of my friends will publish any thing of mine without my concurrence. If he does, he must take the whole responsibility upon himself. Charity and justice require it."[1]

[1] Seck. in Indice tertio: anno 1537.

THE END.

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A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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1500	CHARLES V. born.
1509	Accession of Henry VIII. of England.
1513	Leo X. succeeded Julius II. Pope.
1515	Accession of Francis I. of France.
1517	Luther opposes indulgences.
1518	He is summoned to Rome: appears before Cajetan at Augsburg.
	Zuinglius opposes indulgences.
1519	Charles V. elected successor to the Emperor Maximilian.
	Luther's conferences with Miltitz: his disputation with Eccius at Leipsic: he is condemned by the divines of Louvain and Cologne.
1520	Solyman II. Sultan. Bull of excommunication against Luther, June 15: which he burns, December 10. Melancthon comes forward.
1521	*War:* Charles, Leo, Henry, against Francis.
	Diet of Worms: Aleander, legate. Luther concealed at Wartburg, April 1521 to March 1522. University of Paris condemns him: Henry VIII. writes against him.
1522	Adrian VI. succeeds Leo X. Belgrade and Rhodes conquered by the Turks. Diet of Nuremberg—the "Hundred Grievances." Luther's New Testament. Carolstadt.
1523	Clement VII. succeeds Adrian VI. Another Diet at Nuremberg: Campeggio.
1524	Battle of Pavia: Francis prisoner. Insurrections in Germany. The Landgrave of Hesse supports the reformation. Erasmus's *Diatribe.* Sacramental controversy begun.
1525	John succeeds Frederick, Elector of Saxony. Luther's marriage. His answer to Erasmus, *de Servo Arbitrio.*
1525-6	Diet of Augsburg and Spires.
1526	*Treaty of Madrid:* Francis liberated. Rustic war in Germany.
1527	*War:* Pope, Venice, Milan, (and afterwards Henry,) against Charles. Sack of Rome by Charles's troops: the Pope a prisoner.

1528-9 Diet of Spires: name of *Protestants*.
1529 *Peace of Cambray*. Vienna besieged by the Turks. Charles crowned by the Pope at Bologna. Conferences of Marpurg—Lutherans and Zuinglians.
1530 Diet and Confession of Augsburg.
1531 League of Smalkald. Death of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius.
1532 Pacification of Nuremberg. John Frederick succeeds the Elector John. Cranmer Archbishop.
1534 Anabaptists of Munster. Paul III. succeeds Clement VII. Henry VIII., "Head of the Church."
1535 Charles's successful expedition to Tunis. Persecution in France.
1536 *War* between Charles and Francis. (Marseilles.) Death of Erasmus. Concord of Wittemberg.
1537 Pope's Commission for reformation. Articles of Smalkald.
1538 *Truce of Nice*. Alliance against the Protestants.
1539 Convention of Francfort. Henry succeeds George of Saxony. Henry VIII.'s Law of Six Articles.
1540 Conferences of Haguenau and Worms. Jesuits established.
1541 Conference of Ratisbon. Charles's fatal expedition to Algiers. Maurice succeeds Henry of Saxony.
1542 Diet of Spires. Henry of Brunswick expelled. *War* between Charles and Francis.
1543 Diet of Nuremberg. Abp. of Cologne's reformation.
1544 Diet of Spires. George of Anhalt. *Peace of Crespy*.
1545 Diet of Worms. Council of Trent.
1546 Death of Luther, Feb. 18. Conference and Diet of Ratisbon. Smalkaldic War.
1547 Battle of Mulhausen: Smalkaldic league dissolved. Edward VI. of England. Henry II. of France.
1548 The "Interim."
1552 Treaty of Passau made by Maurice on behalf of the Protestants.
1553 Mary of England. Augustus succeeds Maurice.
1555 Peace of Religion—establishing Protestantism.

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